

# JOURNAL OF Near Eastern Studies

---

VOLUME 55 • JULY 1996 • NUMBER 3

ONE HUNDRED-THIRTEENTH YEAR



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS • CHICAGO • ILLINOIS • U.S.A.





JOURNAL OF

# Near Eastern Studies

Continuing THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF  
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

HEBRAICA, VOLS. I–XI, 1884–1895

FOUNDED BY WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND  
LITERATURES, VOLS. XII–LVIII, 1895–1941

ROBERT D. BIGGS, *Editor*

PAULA VON BECHTOLSHEIM, *Assistant Editor*

JULY 1996

Volume 55 Number 3

## COPYING BEYOND FAIR USE

The code on the first page of an article in this journal indicates the copyright owner's consent that copies of the article may be made beyond those permitted by Sections 107 or 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law provided that copies are made only for personal or internal use, or for the personal or internal use of specific clients and provided that the copier pay the stated per-copy fee through the Copyright Clearance Center, Inc., Operations Center, 27 Congress Street, Salem, Massachusetts 01970. To request permission for other kinds of copying, such as copying for general distribution, for advertising or promotional purposes, for creating new collective works, or for resale, kindly write to the publisher. If no code appears on the first page of an article, permission to reprint may be obtained only from the author.

## MANUSCRIPT ACCEPTANCE POLICY

While it is our policy to require the assignment of copyright on most journal articles, we do not usually request assignment of copyright for other contributions. Although the copyright to such a contribution may remain with the author, it is understood that, in return for publication, the journal has the nonexclusive right to publish the contribution and the continuing right, without limit, to include the contribution as part of any reprinting of the issue and/or volume of the journal in which the contribution first appeared by any means and in any format, including computer assisted storage and readout, in which the issue and/or volume may be produced.

## EDITORIAL POLICY

The editors are interested in articles pertaining to the history and literature of the ancient and premodern Near East.

We consider sources, style, footnote form, originality of material and interpretation, clarity of thought, and interest of readers. All copy, including footnotes, should be double-spaced. Footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. If photographs are submitted with an article, they should be no larger than 5" × 7" and should be glossy prints.

Authors are responsible for securing permissions to utilize photographs or other copyrighted illustrations in their articles. All drawings and diagrams should also be no larger than 5" × 7". Authors should submit an original and a copy and retain a copy for security. In matters of capitalization, punctuation, abbreviations, and the like, the journal follows the guides in *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 13th ed., rev. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982).

**Journal of Near Eastern Studies** (ISSN 0022–2968) is published quarterly in January, April, July, and October by The University of Chicago Press, 5720 S. Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637. ¶ Subscription rates: individuals, U.S.A.: 1 year \$35.00, Canada \$41.45. Institutions, U.S.A.: 1 year \$73.00, Canada \$82.11. Student subscription rate: U.S.A.: 1 year \$23.00 Canada \$28.61 (letter from professor must accompany subscription). Other countries add \$4.00 for each year's subscription to cover postage. Japanese subscription agent: Kinokuniya Co., Ltd. Single copy rates: individuals \$8.75, institutions \$18.25. Special issues: *Erich F. Schmidt Memorial Issue* (vol. 24, nos. 3–4) \$6.75; *XVIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (vol. 27, no. 3), \$6.75; *Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Keith C. Steele* (vol. 32, nos. 1–2) \$6.75; *The Chicago Colloquium on Aramaic Studies* (vol. 37, no. 2) \$6.75. Volumes 1–44 available from Periodical Services Co., 11 Main St., Germantown, New York 12526. All volumes are available in microfilm from University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106; in microcard from J. S. Canner & Co., 49–65 Lansdowne Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02215 or Johnson Associates, P.O. Box 1017, Greenwich, Connecticut 06830. Please make all remittances payable to The University of Chicago Press in United States currency or its equivalent by postal or express money orders or bank drafts.

**Business correspondence** should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, 5720 S. Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

**Communications for the editors**, manuscripts, and books for review should be addressed to the Editor of JOURNAL OF NEAR EASTERN STUDIES, The Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, 1155 E. 58th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

**The articles** in this journal are indexed in the *Social Sciences and Humanities Index* and *Religion Index One: Periodicals* (American Theological Library Association, Chicago), available online through BRS (Bibliographic Retrieval Services), Latham, New York and DIALOG, Palo Alto, California; *Periodica Islamica* (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia).

**Change of Address:** Please allow four weeks for the change. **Postmaster:** Send address change to Journal of Near Eastern Studies, P.O. Box 37005, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

Periodicals postage paid at Chicago, Illinois, and at additional mailing point.

© 1996 by The University of Chicago. All rights reserved.

# JOURNAL OF Near Eastern Studies

JULY 1996 • VOLUME 55 • NUMBER 3  
ONE HUNDRED-THIRTEENTH YEAR

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### ARTICLES

HANS GOEDICKE. The Thutmosis I Inscription near Tomâs. . . . .	161
STEVEN WEITZMAN. The Shifting Syntax of Numerals in Biblical Hebrew: A Reassessment . . . . .	177
A. BERIL TUĞRUL. A Radiographic Study of the Door of the Great Mosque (Ulucami) at Cizre . . . . .	187

### BOOK REVIEWS

YEHUDA D. NEVO. <i>Pagans and Herders: A Re-examination of the Negev Runoff Cultivations Systems in the Byzantine and Early Arab Periods</i> (Paul M. Cobb) . . . . .	195
JONATHAN BERKEY. <i>The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education</i> (Paul E. Walker). . . . .	197
JACQUELINE SUBLET. <i>Les trois vies du Sultan Baïbars</i> (Robert Dankoff) . . . . .	198
PETER HEATH. <i>Allegory and Philosophy in Avicenna (Ibn Sînâ) with a Translation of the Book of the Prophet Muhammad's Ascent to Heaven</i> (Paul E. Walker). . . . .	198
HERSHEL SHANKS, ed. <i>Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism: A Parallel History of Their Origins and Early Development</i> (Anthony J. Tomasino). . . . .	200
YEHUDA NINI. <i>The Jews of the Yemen 1800–1914</i> (Daniel Martin Varisco). . . . .	202
J. B. HARLEY and DAVID WOODWARD. <i>The History of Cartography</i> . Vol. 1, Book 1. <i>Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies</i> (Paul Wheatley) . . . . .	203
KJELL AARTUN. <i>Studien zur ugaritischen Lexikographie: Mit kultur- und religionsgeschichtlichen Parallelen, Teil I: Bäume, Tiere, Gerüche, Götterepitheta, Götternamen, Verbalbegriffe</i> (D. M. Clemens). . . . .	205
WALTER BODINE, ed. <i>Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew</i> (Richard L. Goerwitz). . . . .	208
G. I. DAVIES. <i>Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions: Corpus and Concordance</i> (Dennis Pardee) . . . . .	209
HERSHEL SHANKS, WILLIAM G. DEVER, BARUCH HALPERN, and P. KYLE MCCARTER, JR. <i>The Rise of Ancient Israel</i> (Anthony J. Tomasino) . . . . .	210
SUSAN ACKERMAN. <i>Under Every Green Tree: Popular Religion in Sixth-Century Judah</i> (Diana Edelman) . . . . .	212
GARY A. ANDERSON. <i>A Time to Mourn, a Time to Dance: The Expression of Grief and Joy in Israelite Religion</i> (Lowell K. Handy) . . . . .	213
JOHN G. GAMMIE and LEO O. PERDUE, eds. <i>The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East</i> (Richard Jasnow) . . . . .	215
RÉGINE CHARRON. <i>Concordance des textes de Nag Hammadi: Le Codex VII</i> (Terry G. Wilfong) . . . . .	216



PIERRE CHERIX. <i>Concordance des textes de Nag Hammadi: Le Codex VI</i> (Terry G. Wilfong) . . . . .	216
LUC DELVAUX and EUGENE WARMENBOL. <i>Les divins chats de l'Europe</i> (Emily Teeter) . . . . .	217
DILYS PEGLER WINEGRAD. <i>Through Time across Continents: A Hundred Years of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University Museum</i> (Robert D. Biggs) . . .	218
TONY W. CARTLEDGE. <i>Vows in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East</i> (Lowell K. Handy) . . . . .	219
SHAFIQ ABOUZAYD. <i>Iḥidayutha: A Study of the Life of Singleness in the Syrian Orient, from Ignatius of Antioch to Chalcedon 451 A.D.</i> (Terry G. Wilfong) . . .	220
WERNER VYCICHL. <i>La vocalisation de la langue égyptienne, Tome I<sup>er</sup>: La phonétique</i> (Terry G. Wilfong) . . . . .	221
EDWARD WENTE, trans. and EDMUND S. MELTZER, ed. <i>Letters from Ancient Egypt</i> (Donald Redford) . . . . .	223
CATHERINE ROMMELAERE. <i>Les chevaux du Nouvel Empire égyptien</i> (Emily Teeter) . . .	224
DIETER ARNOLD. <i>Building in Egypt: Pharaonic Stone Masonry</i> (Emily Teeter) . . .	225
LISA L. GIDDY. <i>The Anubieion at Saqqâra</i> (Diana Craig Patch) . . . . .	226
AHARON KEMPINSKI and RONNY REICH, eds. <i>The Architecture of Ancient Israel from the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods</i> (Rachel S. Hallote) . . . . .	228
GWENDOLYN LIECK. <i>A Dictionary of Ancient Near Eastern Mythology</i> (Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.) . . . . .	230
DAVID B. WEISBERG. <i>The Late Babylonian Texts of the Oriental Institute Collection</i> (Paul-Alain Beaulieu) . . . . .	233
SILVAN KOŠAK. <i>Konkordanz der Keilschrifttafeln I: Die Texte der Grabung 1931</i> (Robert D. Biggs) . . . . .	236
ERLAND GEHLKEN. <i>Uruk: Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus dem Eanna-Archiv, Teil 1: Texte verschiedenen Inhalts</i> (David B. Weisberg) . . . . .	236
DAVID B. BURRELL and NAZIḤ DAHER, trs. <i>Al-Ghazali: The Ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God</i> (Bruce B. Lawrence) . . . . .	238
MARTIN HINDS and VICTOR MÉNAGE. <i>Qaṣr Ibrīm in the Ottoman Period: Turkish and Further Arabic Documents</i> (Karl K. Barbir) . . . . .	239
RAPHAEL KUTSCHER. <i>The Brockman Tablets of the University of Haifa. Vol. 1 Royal Inscriptions</i> (Robert D. Biggs) . . . . .	240
HERMANN HUNGER, ed. <i>Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings</i> (Robert D. Biggs) . . .	241
MORDECHAI COGAN and ISRAEL EPH <sup>c</sup> AL, eds. <i>Ah, Assyria . . . : Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography Presented to Hayim Tadmor</i> (Robert D. Biggs) . . . . .	242
YŪSUF RĀĠIB. <i>Marchands d'étoffes du Fayyoub au III<sup>e</sup>/IX<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après leurs archives (actes et lettres). Vol. 3. Lettres des Banū Ṭawr aux Banū 'Abd al-Mu'min</i> (Fred M. Donner) . . . . .	243
D. J. W. MEIJER, ed. <i>Natural Phenomena: Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East</i> (Robert D. Biggs) . . . . .	243
<i>Books Received</i> . . . . .	245



# THE THUTMOSIS I INSCRIPTION NEAR TOMÂS\*

HANS GOEDICKE, *Johns Hopkins University*

## I. INTRODUCTION

THUTMOSIS I was the first Pharaoh to rule territory stretching from Ḥagar el-Merowe south of the Fourth Cataract to the bank of the Euphrates, but available information about his reign is rather meager. A rare exception is the lengthy text of Thutmosis I near the island of Tomâs dating to his second year. It is commonly considered to be a text which commemorates his victorious campaign in Nubia, but it also contains information about other political events which occurred during the early part of his reign. Because these references have not been sufficiently analyzed, the text is rendered here anew and accompanied by a commentary emphasizing the political ramifications.

## II. THE KING'S PEACEFUL SIDE

### *Translation*

Year 2, 2d month of *ḫt*, day 15<sup>a</sup> under the Majesty of Horus "Victorious Bull" law loving; *Nbtj*: who appears with *Nsrt*, great of strength; Gold-Horus: beautiful of years, who enlivens the hearts, King *ḥpr-k3-Rc*, given life eternally, Son-of-Re<sup>c</sup> Thutmosis.

(In) the 2d year that he was introduced:<sup>b</sup>

His appearance as Chief of the Two Lands in order to rule what the sun disc has encircled,<sup>c</sup>

South and also North, namely, the parts of Horus and Seth<sup>d</sup>—uniting the Two Lands, as he sits on the thrones of Geb;<sup>e</sup>

Elevating the appearances of the *Shmtj*.<sup>f</sup>

Indeed, as soon as His Majesty took possession of his heritage,<sup>g</sup> he ascended the dais of Horus,<sup>h</sup>

concerning the widening of the borders of Thebes and the measured plots of the West Side<sup>i</sup>

concerning that plain and hill dwellers, even abominations-of-god and *H3-nbw*, restrained of locks, work for her<sup>j</sup>

(Foreign) southerners are going north, (foreign) northerners are going south; all foreigners are united with their goods for the first occasion of the "Good-god," *ḥpr-k3-Rc*, living eternally.<sup>k</sup>

\* The study by Louise Bradbury entitled "The Tom-bos Inscription: A New Interpretation," *Serapis* 8

[*JNES* 55 no. 3 (1996)]

© 1996 by The University of Chicago.

All rights reserved.

0022-2968/96/5503-0001\$1.00.

(1984-85): 1-20 came to my attention after this paper was finished. I have added a few references to it.

Please note that full citations of all text, journal, and series abbreviations can be found in W. Helck and E. Otto, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie (LÄ)*, vol. 4 (Wiesbaden, 1982).

## Commentary

a) The opening date reflects that of the inscription. According to the notification of the Viceroy of Kush, *Twri*,<sup>1</sup> Thutmosis I had his "feast of appearances" (*hb n h<sup>c</sup>w*) in the third month *prt*, day 21.<sup>2</sup> The date of the inscription is thus approximately seven months later.

b) *h<sup>c</sup>z* is obviously an ordinal number specifying *rnpt*.<sup>3</sup> As both *snwt* and *rnpt* are feminine, *n* is, of course, not an indirect genitive but, rather, a preposition. For the construction *n + sdm.f*, see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, §164.9. It is unusual to emphasize the initial period of a reign in this fashion.

c) What happened up to the time the text was written is described with infinitival statements. For *h<sup>c</sup>tm*, see Margit Schunck, *Untersuchungen zum Wortstamm h<sup>c</sup>*, p. 70. The "appearance" is not as king, but as *hry-tp*, i.e., as chief or head, which would indicate that, at the time, the individual was not yet king in a formal sense. The addition of *t3wy* suggests this, i.e., that the person was considered the choice of the Two Lands. This precoronation situation has to be taken into account in connection with the "red crown" (*ꜥꜥ*) which the Pharaoh wears. The position held by the monarch at his "appearance" is that of universal supremacy. At the time of his ascent to the throne, Thutmosis I was already considered a "world ruler."

d) The grammatical structure is not clear, and, as a result, there is some ambiguity. Basically, it is a sequence of nouns, which suggests that there is an inner nexus, which in turn, stands<sup>4</sup> in anticipation. In its additive use, *r3-<sup>c</sup>* follows the term it adjoins; i.e., "South" and "North" are juxtaposed in this fashion. Aside from the distinct predilection for Upper Egypt, the combining of the geographical sections of the country means nothing specific, except when it is linked with *pswt Nbtj* in a nominal clause.<sup>5</sup> I would take the statement that South and North are the parts of the Two Lords as a kind of explanation anticipating the need for uniting them. There seem to me to be no particular mythological associations in the statement.

e) *Sm3t t3wy* is a strange orthography but is more likely to be an (incorrect) infinitive than a passive one, as K. Sethe considered it, with some hesitation. It appears that *sm3t t3wy* refers to a specific event at the beginning of a king's reign, but it might also be considered a desirable political condition for Egypt.<sup>6</sup> The interpretation of *sndm.f hr nswt Gb* depends on it, as there are two possible renderings. *Sndm* can be an infinitive, i.e., "his sitting on the thrones of Geb" or an imperfective *sdm.f* "(as long as or that) he sits on the thrones of Geb." The latter would be a fitting reference to the mundane provisions for

<sup>1</sup> *Urk.* IV 79–81; see also A. H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> *Urk.* IV 81, 4. W. Helck, *Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten im Neuen Reich*, *Studia Biblica et Orientalia* 3 (Rome, 1959), p. 155, considered it the date of Thutmosis I's ascent, while W. Barta, "Thronbesteigung und Krönungsfeier als unterschiedliche Zeugnisse königlicher Herrschaftsübernahme," *SAK* 8 (1980): 46, considers it the coronation date.

<sup>3</sup> K. Sethe, *Die Entwicklung der Jahresdatierung bei den alten Ägyptern*, *UGAA* 3 (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 88 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Wb.* II 395, 6–7; cf. F. Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen*, *VIO* 2 (Berlin, 1950), pp. 303 f.

<sup>5</sup> It would be possible to consider *pswt Nbtj* as an apposition, but this interpretation is not particularly satisfying.

<sup>6</sup> For *sm3-t3wy*, see my chapter "Zm3-t3wy," in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, *BdE* 96/1 (Cairo, 1985), pp. 307 ff.



kingship, as Geb is unlikely to have a multitude of "seats" of his own. In either case, the clause would be a qualification of *sm3t-t3wy*.

f) The infinitival *wst h<sup>c</sup>w shmty* concerns a step—presumably the last—in becoming a king, namely, being crowned with the double-crown.

g) The construction with an anticipatorily stated subject introduced by the particle *ti* conveys marked stress on the completion of the past action which is reflected in the rendering "as soon as. . ." The passage serves as a temporal clause to a set of pseudoverbal statements (*rsw m hd. . .*).<sup>7</sup>

*Iti iw<sup>c</sup>t* would seem to mean "to take possession of the inheritance," as it has previously been understood. The idiom *iti iw<sup>c</sup>t* occurs since the Pyramid Texts,<sup>8</sup> continues during the Middle Kingdom,<sup>9</sup> and appears frequently in the New Kingdom.<sup>10</sup> In Sinuhe B 46–47, the assumed inheritance is identified by the father, but the more common form is the inheritance of Geb or other gods. Thutmosis I was not genetically related to his predecessor, and there is no indication that his assumed inheritance was of divine origin. Instead, it is specified as "his inheritance," which makes it clear that it does not denote material goods because Thutmosis I had no tangible claim to the property of a predecessor.<sup>11</sup> If indeed tangible items are not meant, what is to be understood as "his inheritance"? The need for a definition was apparently also felt by the Egyptians, as a definition is apparently given following the term.<sup>12</sup>

h) It is generally assumed that the reference to the king's "assuming his inheritance" is followed by his being seated on the throne of Horus. Considering the sequence of events indicated in regard to the royal ascent, it would, indeed, be strange to have a belated reference to the enthronement solely for two purposes. There are also lexicographical problems involved. *Tntt* has no firm connection with Horus.<sup>13</sup> A transitive use of the verb *htp*, with the meaning "to assume a seat," is attested since the Middle Kingdom,<sup>14</sup> not, however, as a constraint but primarily as a temporary abode. Because the point is not regarding executing administrative measures, but more with regard to meeting with foreigners,<sup>15</sup> I read here *htp. <n> n.f Hr tntt*, "the Horus assumed for himself<sup>16</sup> the dais" and understand it as the description of the hereditary customs which Thutmosis I embraced. The assuming of the dais is restricted to two kinds of events, both introduced by *r*, "concerning."

<sup>7</sup> See also p. 173 below (*Urk.* IV 86, 7).

<sup>8</sup> Pyr. 1689 a: "You have taken possession of the inheritance of your father Geb before the body of the gods in Heliopolis."

<sup>9</sup> See E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. I, ASAW 61/1 (Berlin, 1970), pp. 32 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Wb.* I 51, 3, 5, 7; it might not be accidental that the expression becomes conspicuous under Hatshepsut and under Thutmosis III.

<sup>11</sup> The same can be said about various examples of divine inheritance, which can hardly involve gods in any tangible form.

<sup>12</sup> The traditional translations "Er liess sich nieder auf dem Stufenthron des Horus, um zu erweitern die Grenzen Thebens. . ." (Sethe) and "he hath taken his inheritance, he hath assumed the seat of Horus, in order to extend the boundaries of Thebes. . ." (Breasted) do

not consider the need for defining the "inheritance."

<sup>13</sup> The entry *Wb.* V 384, 17 is misleading: *Urk.* IV 200, 9 is an assertion of Dedwen, "I shall make your kingly honor last as Horus who sits on the dais," which could also be taken as "as long as I sit on the dais." See also K. P. Kuhlmann, *Der Thron im Alten Ägypten*, ADAIK 10 (Glückstadt, 1977), pp. 75 ff. It is shown as the elevated dais from which royal acts are performed but not as specifically denoting the throne of Horus, commonly called *st-Hr*.

<sup>14</sup> *Wb.* III 191, 2; the apparent transitive use might be due to an omission of the preposition *hr* before *Hr-tntt*.

<sup>15</sup> See Kuhlmann, *Der Thron*, pp. 76 f.

<sup>16</sup> The dative, occurring with a wide range of verbs of motion, stresses the personal, i.e., unsolicited, nature of the act.

i) The first is "to widen the borders of Thebes and the measured field of the opposite (bank)." The two objects of widening (*swšh*) are obviously parallel and concern the town of Thebes (*W<sup>3</sup>st*) and the West Bank (*hftt hr nb.s*).<sup>17</sup> This makes it clear that the royal deed is of local concern and has no "national" dimensions. That the "widening of the borders" should be understood in this way is confirmed by its being paralleled by *hnbwt*, "measured plots." The term is rare, and it is not clear what kind of "plot" is meant.<sup>18</sup> As it is likely to be derived from *hnb*, "to convey land,"<sup>19</sup> the nature of the term appears to refer to its acquisition rather than its economic use. The West Bank of Thebes is not known for its agriculture but, rather, as the central burial area, and it is in this direction that I consider the meaning of the term. The first task after the appearance on the dais is thus an extension of the town limits of Thebes and of the burial grounds on the opposite side. The emphasis on this domestic issue suggests that early in his reign Thutmose I expanded the city of Thebes and also took some important steps concerning the organization of the West Bank.<sup>20</sup>

j) The second reason for the appearance of the dais concerns contact with foreigners described as "concerning the working for her (i.e., Thebes), desert dwellers, mountain dwellers, god's abominations, Hellades with restrained locks." As the king's appearance on the dais cannot subjugate foreigners, the meaning of the statement ought to be something different from the commonly assumed notion of enslaving people.<sup>21</sup> Since the beneficiary is only Thebes and not all of Egypt, it is probably not an imperial act of the king. The verb *b<sup>3</sup>k* expresses not so much servitude but working for reward and is thus also a term for trade.<sup>22</sup> In other words, the king, in his official capacity, is to receive foreign trade missions.<sup>23</sup> There is no other information available, however, which suggests that the beginning of Thutmose I's reign was marked by flourishing commerce.

The potential trading partners are divided into three categories, of which two are social and one possibly ethnic.<sup>24</sup> The first two describe those "being on the sand" and "those of hill country," i.e., those living in the plain and those in the hills. What other distinctions

<sup>17</sup> The same juxtaposition of the two Theban banks occurs also in *Urk.* IV 64, 9–10, where the "opposite side" is clearly that where the honored dead ones rest; see also Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaus*, UGAA 16 (Leipzig, 1952), pp. 48 f.

<sup>18</sup> *Wb.* III 112, 17 interprets its Greco-Roman use as "Acker, Gartenland."

<sup>19</sup> *Urk.* IV 746, 2; see R. O. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), p. 172.

<sup>20</sup> While little is known about the building activity of Thutmose I at Thebes, his "Treasury" in Karnak North has to be mentioned; see J. Jacquet, *Le trésor du Thutmos I<sup>er</sup>*, Karnak-Nord 5, FIFAO 30/1 (Cairo, 1983), pp. 11 ff. As for the west side, there is a distinct concentration of tombs dating to his reign in Sheikh abd el-Gurnah; see J. Romer, *Who Made the Private Tombs of Thebes?*, Essays in Egyptology (London, 1994).

<sup>21</sup> "... um ihm dienstbar zu machen ... (Sethe); "... so that the ... shall labor for her" (Breasted).

<sup>22</sup> See D. Lorton, *The Juridical Terminology of International Relations in Egyptian Texts through Dyn. XVIII* (Baltimore, 1974), pp. 90 ff.

<sup>23</sup> New Kingdom representations of the king confronting foreigners should be understood more along commercial lines than in an authoritative fashion, despite the artistic canon depicting the foreigners as dominated subjects.

<sup>24</sup> The separation of the latter is not really well founded but follows established notions that the *H<sup>3</sup>w-nbw* are to be understood as people from the Helladic region. Considering the context, i.e., that two categories are uniquely sociological and not ethnic, the possibility has to be taken into account that the term *H<sup>3</sup>w-nbw* denotes anybody who is assumed to dwell "beyond the islands" and who can thus reach Egypt only by boat. In other words, *H<sup>3</sup>w-nbw* deserves also to be considered a sociological term denoting anyone who comes to Egypt from (?) across the sea and thus not just as members of a specific ethnic group. This latter interpretation suits the given context much better than narrowing the reference to the Helladic people; see J. Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*, BdE 22 (Cairo, 1956), pp. 15 ff.



are included is less apparent, in particular the distinction between unsettled and settled people. If this is implied, it is at least not apparent. While the "sand dwellers" have no further description, the *ḥ3styw*, "hill country dwellers," are further described as *bwytyw-ntr*, "abomination of god." Whether it applies to everyone, or if this detail concerns only a specific group, is not clear. As the terms *ḥryw-šc* and *ḥ3swtyw* are very general, the possibility of an additional reference to a specific group has an appeal but cannot be corroborated. The third group, denoted as *ḥ3w-nbw*, does seem to present a contrast to the two previous land-based ones. Traditionally, they are considered to have originated from the Helladic region, but the term might also be considered a general one for anyone from "beyond the islands," thus including the Anatolian, the Helladic, and also the Appenine Peninsula. Either the entire category, or possibly a definable group among them, is called *rḥw q3bt*. This term, which occurs also in a Roman geographical list,<sup>25</sup> has been considered to refer to either an unknown or an African people.<sup>26</sup> The given context makes it unlikely that *rḥw-q3bt* refers to an African ethnic group. It would seem more likely that the term stresses a particular feature of all or some of those denoted as *Ḥ3w-nbw*. The verb *rḥ* has the meaning "to restrain,"<sup>27</sup> while *q3bt*, which normally denotes the chest,<sup>28</sup> is attested very late in reference to the crown of the head.<sup>29</sup> The determinative rules out the former but suits the latter only to a degree. I wonder if the term is not derived from *q3b*, "to turn around," and that *q3bt* denotes here a braided pigtail. This type of hairdo is documented for people who came to Egypt across the sea from the North.<sup>30</sup>

k) After a lengthy insertion, the main text finally continues the temporal clause introduced by *ti ḥm.f* . . . , "as soon as His Majesty had assumed his inheritance." The continuation contains two parts, the first comprising two parallel sentences, the second only one; all clauses are pseudoverbal. It should be noted that *Rsw* and *Mḥtyw* refer to foreigners, as is clear from the accompanying determinative. In short, foreigners from the South and others from the North travel to Egypt as soon as the news of Thutmose I's ascent to the throne becomes known.<sup>31</sup> What both groups have in common is that they bring gifts for the occasion, specified as *sp tpy*, "the first occasion." Sethe assumed that the reading is *ntr-nfr sp tpy*, which he translated "dem guten Gotte des ersten Males," i.e., as one never had before. It is more likely that there is a graphic transposition, so that one should read *n sp tpy ntr-nfr*, "for the first occasion of the 'good-god'"; this would have the added advantage that the royal nomen would not be isolated.

### III. THE VICTORIOUS KING

While the first section of the inscription describes the peace-loving attitude of Thutmose I following his ascent, the major part of the text concerns his military exploits.

<sup>25</sup> Porter and Moss, vol. 6, p. 197, nos. 217, 221; see also Vercoutter, *L'Égypte*, p. 104.

<sup>26</sup> *Wb.* V, 11, 11; H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, vol. 3, p. 140; K. Zibelius, *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten*, TAVO B/1 (Wiesbaden, 1972), p. 159.

<sup>27</sup> *Wb.* II 460; Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 154; Pap. Kahun 1, 8.

<sup>28</sup> Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, vol. 2, p. 241\*; see also H. von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*, p. 877.

<sup>29</sup> *Wb.* V 11, 10.

<sup>30</sup> B. J. Kemp and R. S. Merrillies, *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt* (Cairo, 1980), pp. 147 ff., pls. 18 ff.

<sup>31</sup> See the discussion on p. 164 and this page above.

## Translation

Victorious is Horus, the lord of the Two Lands:<sup>l</sup>

After he tied the moving campaign to the landing posts, the superiors and their villages belong to him in veneration, and the skin-garbed are (either) dancing for His Majesty or are in respect for his uraeus.<sup>m</sup>

After he overthrew the chief of the Nubians, the despoiled Nubian belongs to his grip.<sup>n</sup>

After he had gathered the border markers of both his sides, no escape existed among the evil-of-character; those who had come to support him—not one thereof remained.<sup>o</sup>

As the Nubian *Iwntyw* have fallen to terror and are laid aside throughout their lands, their stench, it floods their wadis, their blood is like a rainstorm.<sup>p</sup> The carrion-eating birds over it are numerous, those birds were picking and carrying the flesh to another (desert) place.<sup>q</sup>

The one who keeps himself safe—the crocodile is a fugitive; the one who tries to hide himself from the successful Horus is one who is under what the Unique One will do.<sup>r</sup>

The Son of Amun, seed of the god, whose name is hidden, offspring of the bull of the gods' Ennead, excellent image of god's limbs.<sup>s</sup>

Who does what the Souls of Heliopolis will praise.

Who fashions for the Lords of the *hwt*-<sup>c3</sup>.

A stronghold for his entire army.<sup>t</sup>

Who approaches among the assembled Nine-bows like a young panther in a resting cattleherd, after the might of His Majesty has blinded it.<sup>u</sup>

Who reached the limits of the earth on its foundations, who stepped on its limits in his victorious strength while seeking to fight: nor can he find one who can approach facing him.<sup>v</sup>

Who opened wadis, which predecessors were ignorant of and any bearers of the *Nbty* have ever seen:<sup>w</sup> his southern limit at the beginning of this earth and the northern one to that water which is circumvented;<sup>x</sup>

Who traveled (continuously) downstream from the south journey: such as has not happened to other *bitis*, as his name has extended to the circuit of heaven.<sup>y</sup>

After it reached what is known of the Two Lands, one swears by him in all lands for the greatness of His Majesty's might.<sup>z</sup>

Nor has one ever seen it in the annals of predecessors since the Followers-of-Horus: one who always gives his breath to the one who follows him and his great offering to the one who adhered to his path.<sup>aa</sup>

As soon as His Majesty is Horus who takes possession of his kingship of million of years, the islands of the *šn-wr* serve him as the earth to its limits is under his sandals.<sup>bb</sup>

The Son-of-Re, his beloved Thutmosis, living forever and ever. Amun-Re, the King of the gods—it is his father, who created his beauty. The desired one of the Ennead of gods of Karnak, given life, duration, luck, and health: he be joyous on the Horus-throne, while leading all living ones like Re eternally.<sup>cc</sup>

## Commentary

1) *Nḥt Hr nb t3wy* serves as a heading for the military exploits of Thutmosis I. There are some grammatical uncertainties connected with the formulation, however. It would appear to be a *sdm.f*, which is surprising, as one might expect a stative Old Perfective. As the text dates from Thutmosis I's second year, he could not have had too many military



achievements at this point. Thus it seems appropriate to consider *nḥt-Hr* a hortative imperfective *sdm.f* and to render it "the Horus, lord of the Two Lands will always be (militarily) strong." Although its significance is not entirely clear, the addition of *Nb-t3wy* to Horus should be noted.

m) The prospects for the king's forcefulness are explained by a temporal clause. Expressed by a *sdm.n.f*, it is an antecedent of the main statement. There are major epigraphic problems in this passage, as indicated by Sethe.<sup>32</sup> They concern one hieroglyph and the obscure word *\*pnw*. It does not make things easier that the opening verb *ḥnsk* is a *hapax*. *Wb.* III 110, 3 rendered it "jemandem huldigen," while Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 173, defined it as "tie up (?)." Cruz-Uribe read it *ḥsk*, which is the same as the common word for "slaughter, cut off (heads)" listed in *Wb.* III 168, 14. This reading deviates from the hieroglyphic writing, in addition to having a determinative which would not agree with the presumed meaning. As for *ḥnsk*, a cognate is probably *ḥnskt*, "braided lock of hair," which would suggest that the basic meaning of the verb is to tie a rope around a post for landing. This interpretation would agree with *pnw*, which is attested in names but not in practical use.<sup>33</sup> The mystifying sign  $\varphi$  might be read *ḥns*, which in late texts is attested as denoting a kind of standard.<sup>34</sup> The basic structure of the sentence still needs to be established, however, i.e., what the subject and the object are. The sequence of a personal pronoun followed by two nouns is unlikely. The suffix *.f* is either the subject, in which case *\*ḥnsw* should be an object followed by a prepositional adjunct with the preposition (*\*r* or *ḥr*) missing, or the alternative would be to consider *ḥnsk* a transitive verb with *n.f* as a dative.<sup>35</sup> In view of the emphasis on the king as actor, the former is preferable, thus the reading "when he tied on the campaign to the landing posts. . ."

It appears that Sethe took  $\mathfrak{G} \mathfrak{B} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I}$  as an error for *\*ḥryw-š<sup>c</sup>*, and Breasted agreed with him. It is rather the term *ḥryw*, "headmen," used here for lack of a specific term.<sup>36</sup> Because of the following *whwt*, they should be recognized as being in charge of "villas." The meaning of the passage is that Thutmose I was met with instant surrender wherever he landed.

The more political aspect is paralleled by a description of the reaction of the populace. Two forms are encountered, one being *h3bt n ḥm.f*, the other, *ksw n imiyt-h3t.f*. *Wb.* II 83, 15 understood the first one as "dance,"<sup>37</sup> which would seem a fitting expression for obeisance in this part of the world. The juxtaposition with *ksw* might be in part a reflection of the actors' age and also a difference in purpose, one being intended for the king's amusement, the other as an expression of respect for the authority he represents.

<sup>32</sup> The passage was discussed by Eugene Cruz-Uribe in "Late Egyptian Varia," *ZÄS* 113 (1986): 20, who rendered it "He has cut the throats of the powerful ones of the Sand-dwellers."

<sup>33</sup> *Wb.* I 508, 5, considered a spindlelike object. Cruz-Uribe emended the text to *\*gnw*, which he interpreted as "powerful ones," referring to *Wb.* V 173, 3-4, concerning a term which occurred once in the Pyramid Texts.

<sup>34</sup> *Wb.* III 300, 4. Although any interpretations can only be guesswork, it seems possible that it depicts the swelling typical for the *Wp-w3wt*-standard ( $\varphi$ ). Could it be a symbol for a military campaign on the move, i.e., for "campaigning travelers" (*ḥnsw*)?

<sup>35</sup> This explanation, however, would require the emendation to *\*ḥnsk.n n.f* because of the narrative character of the account.

<sup>36</sup> For *ḥry*, "headman," see *Urk.* IV 405, 5. Sethe's text arrangement is misleading; *ḥryw* belongs together with *whwt.sn*; the suggested sequence of three nouns without any indication of their interrelation seems unlikely. That persons perform proskynesis and not "settlements" seems obvious.

<sup>37</sup> E. Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz im Alten Ägypten*, Äg. Forsch. 6 (Glückstadt, 1938), p. 80, n. 6, questioned this interpretation, but the term is the same as *ihb*.

The welcoming people are denoted as *hnwtyw*. This appears to be less an ethnic designation than a reflection of a peculiarity of the dancers' appearance. As already considered in *Wb.* III 373, 22, the term appears to be derived from *hnt*, "pelt, skin," focusing on the dancers' wearing animal (leopard or lion) skins.<sup>38</sup> For the Egyptians, who traditionally wore linen, this form of dress must have been curious.

n) The initial part of the journey, apparently upstream, proceeded without difficulty. At some, not specifically identified, point in the journey, it came to a confrontation in which Thutmosis I was successful. The opponent is identified as *i3w Styw*, "elder of Nubians," which is not geographically meaningful. The term *Sti* and its derivative *Styw* are traditional designations for the Nubians, without a precise geographical implication. If the reading *i3w*, "elder," is correct, it seems that the people south of Egypt's political border had some kind of loose organization headed by one "elder." It is not clear if he resided in one specific place and, if so, where that place was. Since Thutmosis I apparently advanced as far as the Hagar el-Merowe,<sup>39</sup> it is possible that this center was actually at Gebel Barkal. The text only indicates that Thutmosis I "overthrew him." There is no indication of what caused the confrontation. It is certain that as a result of this move the Nubians were firmly in the grasp of Thutmosis I. The idiom parallels the traditional motif of the king holding an enemy in his grasp.<sup>40</sup>

*Nhsy* appears to be used here in a generic sense and not in reference to the "elder of the *Styw*." I do not understand the significance of the difference in ethnic terminology, first *Styw* and second *Nhsy*. One could guess that the former applies here to the independent, the latter to the politically subjugated dwellers of the upper Nile Valley. That "the Nubian" is qualified as *wšr*, lit. "without water,"<sup>41</sup> deserves some comment. Geographical conditions in the upper Nile Valley do not support the idea of a drought, which, if it did occur, would affect all of Egypt. The term is more likely an extension of the idiom "to be on someone's water," i.e., to be a subject. Based on this, *wšr* appears to refer to the Nubians who had been made subjects of Thutmosis I, after having been removed from their former "water" of loyalty.

o) The positive statement forms a unit with the negated one following it. There is some ambiguity in the use of the suffix *.f*. It would appear that the first refers to Thutmosis I's action, the second to the formerly superior "elder." *Šhw* is used in connection with the gathering of booty but is also the term for the gathering of allies by an adversary.<sup>42</sup> *T3šw*, as before with regard to the town of Thebes,<sup>43</sup> refers to the number of border markers. From *gswy.fy*, "his two sides," I would conclude that the Nubian chief was recognized on both sides of the Nile Valley. The achievement of Thutmosis I is juxtaposed with the consequences it meant for the defeated, expressed in a negated statement. For the derogatory *nbdw qd*, see Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, vol. 1, p. 134\*; it

<sup>38</sup> For this icon, see E. Swann-Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites His Enemies: A Comparative Study*, MÄS 44 (Munich and Berlin, 1986).

<sup>39</sup> See A. J. Arkell, "Varia sudanica," *JEA* 36 (1950): 36–38, fig. 4. See also K. Zibelius-Chen, *Die ägyptische Expansion nach Nubien*, TAVO B/78 (Wiesbaden, 1988), p. 16.

<sup>40</sup> Read *hnrw n šsp.f*. It has to be indicated that it is not certain whether the suffix refers to Thutmosis I or to

the curtailed Nubian "elder."

<sup>41</sup> Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 70, translates it "to be spoiled."

<sup>42</sup> H. Grapow, *Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten und zu ihnen verwandten historischen Berichten des Neuen Reiches*, AAW (Berlin, 1947), vol. 1, p. 2 and (Berlin, 1949), vol. 2, pp. 68 f.

<sup>43</sup> See p. 164 above.




is either a reflection of Egyptian xenophobia,<sup>44</sup> or there may be a more specific reason for its use here.<sup>45</sup>

Although *iww* might give the impression of being a participle qualifying *nbdw-qd*, the overall syntactic pattern of positive and negative features requires interpreting it nominally. The use of *nh*, "protection," also "troops,"<sup>46</sup> is somewhat surprising, except when seen as a solely military term, i.e., denoting troops who are not permanently under command but who participate in a confrontation as auxiliaries.

p) The two pseudoverbal clauses serve as temporal clauses, the main statement being *šs.sn b<sup>c</sup>h.f int.sn*. Its emphasis is also indicated by the anticipatorily stated subject. While *Iwntyw Styw* recurs,<sup>47</sup> it is not clear if it should be taken as a geographically or as a sociologically distinct group. It is certain that they bore the brunt of Thutmosis I's action. The description is uncommonly gory and might inspire the idea of excessive bloodshed. Despite the gruesome words, the reality is likely to have been on a limited scale. The mere logistics of moving a sizable body of soldiers to as far south as the Ḥagar el-Merowe is daunting even for a modern military staff, let alone for conditions in the second millennium B.C. It would seem justified to envision an operation carried out by a limited number of warriors. This, however, in no way diminishes their impact on a population which was presumably also numerically small. While *hr n š<sup>c</sup>t* suggests physical harm, *rdi hr gs*, literally "to give to the side," is more likely to refer to an administrative-judicial process.<sup>48</sup> It is not entirely clear what is meant here, but it could be that it implies acceptance as vassals.

The construction of a *sdm.f* following an anticipatorily stated subject conveys a distinct emphasis which is somewhat surprising. This concerns also the progression in the account, which commences with the "stench" of the killed ones. What follows is compared with a "rainstorm" (*snmw ḥwyt*).<sup>49</sup> The reading and thus the interpretation are not clear.<sup>50</sup> The comparison suggests some liquid, blood being the most likely. I would read either *\*tms rš.sn* or, more likely, *trw.sn*, "their blood."

q) *Ḥšyw* as a general term for carrion-eating birds; cf. *Wb.* III 16, 2; Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 161. Sethe's division of the text is misleading here.<sup>51</sup> It should be read *ḥšyw hr.s šš* and *nš špdw hr ḥnp itt r ky bw*, with a haplography in *nš špdw*. The scene described is that of numerous carrion-eating birds flying over the corpses and picking<sup>52</sup> flesh from them to carry off to other places. Because of the determinative , *bw* is to be understood as a place in the desert.

<sup>44</sup> A. Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*, Äg. Abh. 48 (Wiesbaden, 1988), pp. 14 ff.

<sup>45</sup> *Urk.* IV 613, 16 makes it clear that the term has no ethnic connotation, but this does not rule out a political significance. The implicit moral condemnation suggests that it refers to people who broke an agreement, in whatever form this is to be imagined.

<sup>46</sup> *Wb.* II 304, 13; 305, 7.

<sup>47</sup> *Urk.* IV 9, 5, which concerns the same event, refers only to the defeated leader.

<sup>48</sup> *Wb.* V 192, 111; *Urk.* IV 7, 6: "the fugitive was one given on the side like those non-existing ones" does not necessarily concern annihilation of an enemy.

<sup>49</sup> *Wb.* IV 165, 11–12. The comparison is indeed



curious considering the geographical setting of Upper Nubia. To emphasize the contrast between the barren country and the improbable rain flood could be considered an explanation.

<sup>50</sup> Sethe rendered it "ihre Münder sind bemalt (blutig) wie von Regengüssen . . ." while Breasted has "the . . . of their mouth is like a violent flood."

<sup>51</sup> Sethe left it untranslated, while Breasted, *Ancient Records*, vol. 2, p. 71, translated it "the fragments cut from them are too much for the birds, carrying off the prey to another place."

<sup>52</sup> *Ḥnp itt* appears to be a verbal pair; for this feature, see Gardiner, "The Idiom *itt in*," *JEA* 24 (1938): 124 f.

r) The notion of total routing of an opponent is completed with the picture of the fugitive falling prey to natural forces.<sup>53</sup> The apparently reflexive verb *t3r* has been rendered in several different ways. Wb. V 355, 8 renders it "vom Krokodil, das sich auf (*hr*) den Flüchtling 'stürzt'"; Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 303, translates it "fasten on prey." The difficulty of the passage<sup>54</sup> is in its grammatical structure, which has been considered in part a verbal clause. The result is a disparity between two seemingly similarly construed statements. It seems better to see two parallel clauses, both nominal in nature. They are introduced by an anticipatorily stated participle describing two different aspects of surviving opponents. The translation "to keep safe," suggested by Gardiner<sup>55</sup> for the verb *t3r* fits the context quite well, i.e., that the one who thought he was safe is a victim of the crocodile. The use of the preposition *hr* concerning the crocodile's attack might seem strange, until the way crocodiles attack is taken into consideration: they kill primarily by drowning the victims, i.e., the victim is pulled under the surface.

The second statement is similarly construed, except that the preposition is *hr* and not *hr*. If there are any specific connotations in the juxtaposition of *Hr-tm3-c*, "Horus, strong of action," and *Wcw*, "Unique one," as designations of the monarch, they are uncertain. The form  is noteworthy and corresponds to . Gunn<sup>56</sup> understood it as a prospective relative form, a concept which has since been abandoned.<sup>57</sup> As a collective, the word should be seen as feminine, thus more likely a graphic peculiarity of the text to stress the pronunciation of the final *t*.

s) The reference to the king as *wcw*, "unique one,"<sup>58</sup> opens a royal eulogy, which is likely to have been injected into the text from some other source, stressing the linkage between the king and the divine world: *s3 Imn*, "son of Amun," commences with Kamose.<sup>59</sup> For *wttw-ntr*, "divine seed," see Wb. I 382, 13; Urk. IV 17, 4; the notion anticipates Hatshepsut's idea of "divine birth"; cf. Hellmut Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*, Äg. Abh. 10 (Wiesbaden, 1964), p. 188. The "god whose name is hidden" is a play on the name Amun.<sup>60</sup> For *mstyw*, "offspring," see E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 65 f. "Bull of the Ennead of gods" was considered by Sethe to refer to Amun. *Tit sbqt nt hcw-ntr* is an unusual formulation; it indicates the king as "reflection" of the "divine limbs" but not as being "divine" himself.<sup>61</sup>

t) While the preceding statements concerned the king in a static relation to the divine, the praises turn next to his actions. "Who does what the Souls of Heliopolis (will) praise"

<sup>53</sup> It is especially the crocodile as an image of destructive power in nature, beginning with the Suicidal, I. 74.

<sup>54</sup> B. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (Paris, 1924), p. 5, stresses the difficulty of the passage which he renders, "The crocodile fastens himself upon the fugitive, he who hides himself from the Swift (?) -handed Horus is subject to (?) what the One may do." Sethe rendered it "es stürzt sich das Krokodil auf den Flüchtling, der sich verbergen will vor dem Horus, mit kräftigem Arm, unter dem, was der einzige (König) tut." Breasted left it untranslated. One of the weaknesses of these interpretations is the incongruity between being a fugitive and hiding oneself, as well as the action of the crocodile.

<sup>55</sup> Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 89.

<sup>56</sup> Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, p. 5.

<sup>57</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, §259, Obs.

<sup>58</sup> Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum*, pp. 264 f.

<sup>59</sup> Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 96; see again Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum*, pp. 64 f.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Wb. I 84, 2-3; see also J. Assmann, *Re und Amun*, OBO 51 (Freiburg, Switzerland and Göttingen, 1983), pp. 185 ff.

<sup>61</sup> Much has been said about the "golden limbs" of the future kings in Pap. Westcar. As I have pointed out, the description as "golden" is a metaphor for healthy and does not reflect any supernatural quality; see my "Rudjet's Delivery," *Varia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1985): 19 ff.



is a straightforward rendering, but its meaning is far from clear. Although earlier the king appears to have been related to Amun, there is no discernible reason for the reference to the "Souls of Heliopolis."<sup>62</sup> A further problem is the otherwise mundane orientation of the context, which makes it difficult to envision an isolated religious statement.

Equally ambiguous is *qm³ n hwt ³t*. Sethe took it as a *sdmw.n.f*-relative form,<sup>63</sup> which leads to a complete change in the direction of the text. It would be incongruous that after several statements about Amun's fatherhood of the king, the latter would be described as "whom the lords of the 'Great House' have created." Because of the parallel with the preceding clause, I favor interpreting *qm³* as an active participle followed by a dative. As *hwt-³t* lacks a determinative indicating the term as a place-name, one should probably read here "who creates for the lords of a 'great house'" or because *qm³* is a transitive verb, "who creates for the lords a 'great house'." Beyond this, I am not clear what the purpose of it is. I would guess that both passages concern military personnel, a notion which is, of course, influenced by the next passage.

For the metaphorical use of *mnw*, "fortress," see *Wb.* II 82, 5; Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen*, pp. 163 f. It should be noted that *mš<sup>c</sup>* is qualified by *tmw*, "his entire army";<sup>64</sup> why the word "entire" is emphasized is unclear, but it suggests that it intends also to include parts which did not participate in the campaign.

u) For the reflexive use of *hsi* construed with *m*, "to approach victoriously," see *Wb.* III 159, 12 and *Urk.* IV 613, 6; 1229, 6; 1236, 11. The "foreigners" are probably specifically "Nubians" in view of the writing, which requires the reading *Styw*. It would seem that at this point there was no more concern about organized resistance because the foreigners are compared with a resting herd of cattle.<sup>65</sup> Their numb state is attributed to the blinding power of "His Majesty's might."

The statement is politically important for making it clear that there was only one significant battle in the southern expansion of Thutmosis I, after which he was not faced with any further resistance.

v) For *ini drw*, "to reach the limits," see *Wb.* V 587 C. *T³* denotes here the "earth" resting on its "foundations" (*ndbwt*) over the watery abyss.<sup>66</sup>

The expansive attitude is further described as a search for an opponent.<sup>67</sup> It gives the impression that Thutmosis I's far-reaching move up the Nile was in search of an opponent, whom he did not find.<sup>68</sup> *Wb.* III 159, 10 gives for *hsi hr im.i*, "jemandem die Stirn bieten."<sup>69</sup> *Hr im.i*, "the face on me," is in apposition to *hs.ty.fy* and thus denotes the enemy who would approach "straight-faced," i.e., who was not bent down.

<sup>62</sup> L. V. Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts*, SAOC 34 (Chicago, 1968), pp. 22 ff., does not discuss the passage.

<sup>63</sup> "Den die Herren der *ht-³t* erschaffen haben," identifying *hwt-³t* as "Name eines Heiligtums von Heliopolis"; see also Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, vol. 4, p. 54.

<sup>64</sup> For this idiomatic use, see *Wb.* V 304, 6. Sethe considered the possibility that *tm* negates the next clause, but this use would be highly anachronistic; cf. H. Satzinger, *Die negativen Konstruktionen im Alt- und Mittelägyptischen*, MÄS 12 (Berlin, 1968), p. 63.

<sup>65</sup> *Wb.* III 287, 19.

<sup>66</sup> See H. Schäfer, *Ägyptische und heutige Kunst und Weltgebäude der Alten Ägypter* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928), p. 107. *Wb.* II 368, 10 considered it a term for the "ganze Erde," but it is more a reflection of the geographical vision continued by the Greeks that the earth lies over a water-filled abyss.

<sup>67</sup> The notion is mentioned repeatedly; see *Wb.* III 151, 8.


<sup>68</sup> The formulation *n gm.n.f* is curious because a narrative wording is expected.

<sup>69</sup> Similarly, Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 171, "to face an enemy."

w) *Sdh* is listed in *Wb.* IV 344, 12–13, only in use in later texts. It is debatable if the plural *inwt* actually refers here to wadis, as it would appear, or if it should be seen as referring to stretches of the Nile Valley previously unknown. The pride in discovering previously unknown territory (*Wb.* III 278, 11) is a phenomenon of the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>70</sup> It is enhanced here by a reference to the personal achievement of Thutmosis I, who states that no “crowned person” had ever seen it.<sup>71</sup> For *wts Nbtj*, see *Urk.* IV 292, 17; it is unclear whether it refers to a diadem or the crowns.

x) The reference to *tšš.f rsy* and *mhty* is generally considered to indicate the extent of Thutmosis I's authority, with the southern border at the Fifth Cataract and the northern border at the river “which flows down in flowing south,” the latter considered a poetical description of the Euphrates.<sup>72</sup> This rendering involves major chronological problems, in that it suggests that Thutmosis I had been recognized as sovereign in the Levant at the same time as he became king in Egypt. It is, however, attested in the biographical inscription of one of his followers<sup>73</sup> that the sojourn in Syria took place after the campaign into Upper Nubia.

As I have pointed out on an earlier occasion,<sup>74</sup> *mw qd* is a descriptive formulation and not a technical term, which concerns the Second Cataract.<sup>75</sup> In principle, I believe this but feel that I can offer further clarification. Part of the previous difficulties evolved from the division of the text by the Sethe, who connected *mw pf qdq* with *ḥddi m ḥnty*. The two should in fact be separated. The geographical specifications concern Thutmosis I's military expansion in Upper Nubia, which is followed by a statement about his return. *Tšš rsy* concerns the southernmost point of the campaign. As for *mw qd*, it is the same body of water which the king's follower Ahmose describes as *mw bin*.<sup>76</sup> The description as “bad water” agrees with the use of the demonstrative *pf*, which also has negative connotations. I now see *qdw* as a passive and not as an active participle and prefer to separate the mention of *mw pf qdw* from what follows.<sup>77</sup> Accordingly, it is to be understood as “that circumvented water,” i.e., “avoided water.” It means that *mw pf qdw* denotes a stretch of the Nile unsuitable for sailing, i.e., the Third Cataract, as is also implied by Ahmose.<sup>78</sup> The geographical delination thus specifies the area in which Thutmosis I was militarily active during his campaign.

y) *Ḥddi* states another quality of the king and stands parallel to the preceding *inw* and *sdh* concerning *bšw ḥm.f*. It emphasizes the continuous move of Thutmosis I once his military exploits ended.  has universally been taken as either a participle, as

<sup>70</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV 345, 14 about Punt-people, previously unknown to Egyptians.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Satzinger, *Die negativen Konstruktionen*, §§12, 20.

<sup>72</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records*, vol. 2, p. 73; *Wb.* III 354, 18; *LÄ*, vol. 2, p. 47; see also D. B. Redford, “Thutmose I and the Euphrates,” *JSEEA* 10 (1979): 68 ff.

<sup>73</sup> *Urk.* IV 9 f.; see also Bradbury, “Tombos Inscription,” pp. 18 f.

<sup>74</sup> See my article, “The Inverted Water,” *GM* 10 (1974): 13–17.

<sup>75</sup> Earlier I rendered the passage concerning us here “its southern border reaches to the south side of this land, the northern one to that water which turned the one who desired to go north into one who rather went south.”

<sup>76</sup> *Urk.* IV 8, 8; see my article “The Inverted Water,” p. 15.

<sup>77</sup> My previous notion that it means “that water which turned the one who desire to go north into one who rather went south” I find no longer tenable because of semantic and grammatical problems. To “turn” a north traveler into a south traveler could not be expressed by *qd*, which could indicate a change in direction, not in nature. The other is that *ḥddi* is an “imperfective” participle expressing continuity and not volition.

<sup>78</sup> *Urk.* IV 8, 8–9. An intriguing geographical thesis was offered by Bradbury, “Tombos Inscription,” pp. 7 f., who identified it as denoting the Fourth Cataract. It would imply that the basis for Thutmosis I's expansion into Upper Nubia was much further south than the available historical information suggests.



in "one who travels south," or as an adverbial expression, as in "southwards." Neither view leads to a satisfactory conclusion because of the resulting contradiction: the northward journey is supposed to be southward. The problem is solved when the noun *hnty(t)*, "southward journey," is recognized here.<sup>79</sup> It is the continuous return journey which is considered unparalleled.

*Dbnw n pt*, "circuit of heaven,"<sup>80</sup> implies a circular concept of the universe; see H. Schäfer, *Ägyptische und heutige Kunst*, p. 86, who demonstrates this notion only for a very late date. The statement *rn.f sprw* is the fact which has not happened to/for other *bitis*. Why the designation *biti* is used here is not apparent.

z) The *sḏm.n.f*-clause serves as a temporal clause to the preceding pseudoverbal statement. *Wb.* II 449, 3 lists *\*t3wy rḥt.t* as an expression for "das Ende der Welt."<sup>81</sup> While this approximates the basic meaning, there is no term with which it seems connected, except when reading it *rḥtt t3wy*, "what is known of the two lands," the latter denoting the entire Nile Valley and "Asia."<sup>82</sup>

The oath invoking the king is an essential feature of the initial announcement of the king's ascent to the throne.<sup>83</sup> Its use "in all flat lands" is an indication of the authority enjoyed by Thutmosis I in an empire which eventually extended from the Euphrates to the Hagar el-Merowe.

aa) For the reference to the records of the predecessors, see Donald B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books* (Toronto, 1986), pp. 65 ff., 83.

Since there is no mention of the observation's object, it seems necessary to consider the attached specification *ddi t3w n šmsw 3bt.f n mḏd mṯn.f* as what constitutes Thutmosis I's uniqueness. The giving of "breath" and "hecatomb offering" should be seen as a juxtaposition of the treatment the military followers received in life and in death. In other words, Thutmosis I not only sustained his followers, but also took care of "those who followed his path" to the end, i.e., who died while serving him.


bb) The instantaneous recognition Thutmosis I received is also stated concerning the "islands of the ocean." The construction *ti ḥm.f itw m nswyt* repeats the earlier use (*Urk.* IV 83, 1) and connotes the same idea of immediacy.<sup>84</sup> It is surprising to find "kingship" (*nswyt*) qualified by *ḥḥw m rnpwt*, "millions of years." It might be a gratuitous addition or might possibly reflect a change in Thutmosis I's status.

*Gnh* is a curious word for which the meaning "to serve" has been assumed.<sup>85</sup> The same root denotes celestial phenomena, singular or plural<sup>86</sup> and also the mounting of gold on poles.<sup>87</sup> I wonder if the origin of the term is not its application to "shooting stars" and that the verb does not express servitude but, rather, the rushing speed of distant travel. *Šn-wr*, "the great surrounding water," "ocean" refers here to the Mediterranean.

<sup>79</sup> *Wb.* III 310, 1.

<sup>80</sup> *Wb.* V 436, 10; there is a parallel concerning Hatshepsut in *Urk.* IV 332, 15.

<sup>81</sup> Similarly, Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 152, *t3wy rḥtt*, "the ends of the earth."

<sup>82</sup> Although the term *t3wy*, "the Two lands," has its roots in the union of the South and North as the basis of Egypt's political existence, this notion is also applied to the political situation that emerged with Thutmosis I becoming ruler of large areas in the Levant. It crystallizes in the designation,  traditionally read *pr-3*,

although the basic principles of the hieroglyphic script would require the reading *3-prwy*, i.e., the great one of the two domains."

<sup>83</sup> See J. A. Wilson, "The Oath in Ancient Egypt," *JNES* 7 (1948): 129 ff.

<sup>84</sup> See p. 163 above.

<sup>85</sup> *Wb.* V 177, 4; Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 290.

<sup>86</sup> *Urk.* VII, 3; see also CT I 262 c.

<sup>87</sup> Pap. Westcar 7, 13.

To be "under the sandals" might not indicate direct political authority but, rather, political recognition.<sup>88</sup>

cc) The conclusion emphasizes Amun as divine lord and the connection with Thebes. Whether this is due to the location of the text's setting in Nubia or whether there are other reasons remains obscure. The exhortations for the king are of exceptional diversity.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

The inscription, which bears the date "Year 2," gives a summary of the reign of Thutmosis I up to this point. Within the short period of only seven months, Thutmosis I appears to have been extremely successful. It is this ability to accomplish which emanates from the text and which has its specific expression in the twice-occurring formula "as soon as His Majesty had done. . . ." It might very well be a response to the political pressures which made him king after the reign of Amenophis I, which, after a successful beginning, seems to have turned into a rather indecisive period.

The intense political activity appears to have begun immediately after his ascent. The text, separating peaceful from military activities, insists that Thutmosis I's initial deed was the expansion of the town of Thebes and of the cemetery on the opposite bank. Thutmosis I's "treasury" and a distinct group of tombs in Sheikh abd el-Gurna might be reflections of this royal act. Another deed of the king is regulating foreign trade, including people considered politically objectionable ("abominations of god") and other representatives of maritime trade. It is not clear what inspired this move, but it apparently bore fruit. From north and south people came to bring their wares in time for "the first occasion," presumably the beginning of the first full regnal year.<sup>89</sup>

The concern for trade might also have something to do with a political aspiration which is not described but somewhat hinted at in the text. By his second year, Thutmosis I was already aspiring to be recognized as the political authority from south of Gebel Barkal into the Levant. It is especially the Asiatic expansion which is curious to note because the extension into the Sudan was connected with a military operation.

Neither the exact date nor the instigating motive are described in enough detail. It is virtually certain that the text left at Tombos was placed there after the king's return from his southern foray. It is not the only record referring to this campaign but certainly the most extensive one. The closest parallel is in the autobiography of Ahmose, son of Eban, who was a soldier in the king's retinue.<sup>90</sup> There are also four minor inscriptions in the Tombos region reflecting military action by Thutmosis I.<sup>91</sup> A rock inscription left at Hagar el-Merowe marks the presumably furthest point reached during the campaign.<sup>92</sup> Indirectly related to the campaign are three rock inscriptions in the area of the First Cataract, all dated to "Year 3, 1st month of *šmw*, day 22."<sup>93</sup> They were set up by the Viceroy of Kush Turoy in commemoration of an inspection tour of a newly cleared passageway through

<sup>88</sup> See W. K. Simpson, "Ptolemaic-Roman Cartonage-Footcases with Prisoners Bound and Tied," *ZÄS* 100 (1973): 50 ff.

<sup>89</sup> See pp. 164-65 above.

<sup>90</sup> *Urk.* IV 8, 4 ff.; it is also mentioned in the biography of Ahmose-Penkhabet (*Urk.* IV 36, 5-8).

<sup>91</sup> *Urk.* IV 87 f.

<sup>92</sup> Arkell, "Varia Sudanica," pp. 36-38; Vercoutter, "New Egyptian Texts from the Sudan," *Kush* 4 (1956): 67 f.

<sup>93</sup> *Urk.* IV 88-90; cf. C. Vandersleyen, "Les obstacles constituent les cataractes du Nil," *BIFAO* 69 (1971): 263 f.



the First Cataract, which had been instigated by a command of Thutmosis I when he returned from the Nubian campaign.<sup>94</sup> The date of the three inscriptions is one year and seven months after the one at Tombos, which was set up after the Nubian campaign had been completed and the royal party was on its homeward journey. It is improbable that Thutmosis I spent all that time in Lower Nubia, so that the three rock inscriptions in the First Cataract region are to be related only indirectly with the thrust into the Sudan.

From the biographies of two of the king's followers, it is clear that the journey to the Levant occurred only after the Nubian campaign. At the same time, Thutmosis I insinuates in the Tombos inscription that the northern border of his authority was beyond the limits inherited from his predecessor. This is to be taken as an indication that the necessary political acts for this status were either initiated or envisaged before the Nubian campaign took place. In other words, Thutmosis I was interested in a sovereignty in the Levant immediately after his ascent to the throne. This development might be responsible for the Nubian action as well, i.e., that Thutmosis I focused on the South to achieve recognition there. This drive for the establishment of an "international" empire has no precedent in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Since most of the territory was conquered without military force, it has to be assumed that some precedent existed leading us to the "Hyksos" period. The dearth of information about the politics of the time, especially about the political structure of the early part of this period, makes it impossible to corroborate the thesis that Thutmosis I was recognized upon his ascent as the "heir" of the early Fifteenth Dynasty.<sup>95</sup>

When seen in this way the Nubian campaign becomes understandable. As can be seen in Apophis's intercepted letter to the ruler of Kush,<sup>96</sup> the political entity which existed south of the Second Cataract had in some way recognized the Hyksos ruler residing at Avaris as overlord. Kamose had already tried to establish himself in this role before he commenced his campaign against the North.<sup>97</sup> His effort appears to have been successful only in part, so that a political consolidation of the Kushite realm became possible during the reigns of Ahmose and Amenophis I. Thutmosis I gave the question of controlling the Upper Nile Valley first priority and set out immediately to extend his authority there, thus matching the political situation as it had existed under the "Great Hyksos."

The thrust southwards consists of two parts. In the first, Thutmosis I is instantly accepted as overlord. At some geographically undefined place, one major battle occurred in which the "Elder of the *Iwntyw-Sti*" was killed and his corpse displayed on the bow of the king's boat.<sup>98</sup> This one clash apparently brought about the collapse of the political structure in the Sudan and broke any resistance against Thutmosis I. He continued his move south without opposition. At Hagar el-Merowe, much further south than any Egyptian had ever shown political interest, the campaign lost momentum. It is unlikely that there was any reason for stopping there, except that any further progress was considered futile.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Sethe considers them as commemorating the victorious return of the king from the Nubian campaign through a canal which was made between the time of the king's departure and his return.

<sup>95</sup> J. von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*, Äg. Forsch. 23 (Glückstadt, 1964), pp. 123 ff. Certainly under the early "Hyksos" ruler, the authority was not

limited to the Nile Valley but also covered the Levant.

<sup>96</sup> Kamose Stela II 20 ff.

<sup>97</sup> See my *Studies about Kamose and Ahmose* (Baltimore, 1995), pp. 175 ff.

<sup>98</sup> *Urk.* IV 9, 5.

<sup>99</sup> One wonders if the accompanying military had an impact on this decision, but there is nothing to substantiate this.

It would seem that the success in the South emboldened Thutmose I to make a tour of the northern regions of an empire in which he was to be recognized as "overlord."<sup>100</sup> According to Ahmose, son of Eban, this venture proceeded in a way similar to the southern one. Thutmose I was apparently accepted without opposition until he reached Naharin, i.e., the Euphrates. There was one major confrontation with the Mitanni ruler but apparently not as decisive as the one with the ruler of Kush. Although success is reported, the event did not lead to the collapse of the Mitanni realm, thus resulting in the limitation of Thutmose I's authority. The result was the emerging of two "super powers" vying for the control of the Levant, which became the dominant theme of the politics of the Eighteenth Dynasty, until Thutmose IV apparently achieved a partial reconciliation with the Mitanni.

The initial success of Thutmose I in exercising authority over the Levant was not based on military force but appears to have been a voluntary move on the part of the Levantine city-states. The peaceful emergence is reflected in one monument partially preserved at Thebes.<sup>101</sup> It is a gateway which depicts Levantine city-states in the pose of supporting the king and was created for Snofru.<sup>102</sup> Iconographically, it is unquestionably not an indication of military achievement but of political consolidation.<sup>103</sup> What happened to it, is, however, another largely unanswered question.

<sup>100</sup> See also Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 153 ff.

<sup>101</sup> Idem, "A Gate Inscription from Karnak and Egyptian Involvement in Western Asia during the Early 18th Dynasty," *JAOS* 99 (1979): 270 ff. For the date, see Bradbury, "Nefer's Inscription," *JARCE* 22 (1985): 78 f.; H. Buchberger, *Transformat: Sargtextstudien I*, Äg. Abh. 52 (Wiesbaden, 1993), pp. 447 f.

<sup>102</sup> A. Fakhry, *The Monuments of Snofru at Dahshur*, vol. 2 (Cairo, 1961), pp. 17 ff.

<sup>103</sup> The revival of the multinational political conglomerate most probably first achieved by the "Hyksos" might, at least in part, be due to the social and economic problems the small political entities had to face in the wake of the breakdown of "Hyksos" rule. To have some kind of superior authority to balance the diverse interests may very well have seemed advantageous.



## THE SHIFTING SYNTAX OF NUMERALS IN BIBLICAL HEBREW: A REASSESSMENT

STEVEN WEITZMAN, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

HISTORIANS of the Hebrew language have long realized that the language of 1 and 2 Chronicles differs in subtle but significant ways from the preexilic Hebrew of its principal literary sources, Samuel and Kings.<sup>1</sup> Among these differences is a switch in the syntactical position of the cardinal numerals 2 and above<sup>2</sup> in relation to a quantified noun. Whereas in the Hebrew of Samuel, Kings, and other preexilic writings these numerals typically precede the noun (חמש אמות), 1 and 2 Chronicles and other late biblical books often place the numeral after the noun (אמות חמש). The prevailing explanation for the numeral's positional shift is that it reflects a diachronic development within Biblical Hebrew, emerging as preexilic Biblical Hebrew evolved into Late Biblical Hebrew. The goal of the present study is to reassess the merits of this explanation in light of two kinds of evidence: (1) extrabiblical sources from the First and Second Temple periods which have not been fully integrated into previous analyses of the numeral's syntax; and (2) the findings of recent cross-linguistic studies which have observed basic universal patterns in the embedding of numerals into larger syntactical constructions. With the new perspective provided by this data, this study will propose a more nuanced explanation for the numeral's shifting syntax in Biblical Hebrew.

Since most recent discussions of the syntax of the numeral in Biblical Hebrew recapitulate the treatment of the numeral found in E. Kautzsch's revision of Wilhelm Gesenius's *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, this book represents a natural starting point for our discussion.<sup>3</sup> Gesenius identifies three syntactical relationships between the noun and the cardinal numerals 2 and above in Biblical Hebrew:

1. The numeral may be placed in the construct state before the noun; see, for example, Gen. 9:22: ויגד לשני אחיו
2. The numeral may be placed in the absolute state before the noun; see, for example, Gen. 6:10: יולד נח שלשה בנים

<sup>1</sup> See A. Kropat, *Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik verglichen mit der seiner Quellen* (Giessen, 1909); A. Sperber, "Hebrew Based upon Biblical Passages in Parallel Transmission," *HUCA* 14 (1939): 153–249; E. Kutscher, in R. Kutscher, ed., *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 81–85; A. Ben David, *Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew*, 2 vols.

(Tel Aviv, 1967) [in Hebrew]; A. Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel* (Paris, 1982).

<sup>2</sup> In the present study I refrain from analyzing the syntax of the numeral 1 because, unlike higher numerals, it regularly follows the noun in both preexilic and postexilic sources (although there are places where it appears before the noun; see Num. 31:28, 30). As will become clear below, however, it is impossible to understand the syntactical behavior of higher numerals without some attention to the behavior of the numeral 1.

<sup>3</sup> See E. Kautzsch, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* (based on the 28th German ed., trans. A. E. Cowley (Oxford, 1910), pp. 432–35 (hereafter Gesenius).

3. The numeral may follow the noun in the absolute state; see, for example, 2 Chron. 3:10: **ויעש בבית קדש הקדשים כרובים שנים**<sup>4</sup>

According to Gesenius, the third syntactical construction appears in two specific contexts: (1) in lists where the numeral's appearance after the noun reflects an accounting convention;<sup>5</sup> (2) in late biblical books such as Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, where the numeral's positional shift reflects a historical development within Hebrew in which the numeral settles over time into the normal syntactical position for adjectives. Gesenius thus suggests two explanations for the numeral's shifting syntax: a synchronic explanation which connects the numeral's position to the genre in which it is used and a diachronic explanation which suggests that the numeral's shifting position represents a historical development within Hebrew. We discuss the synchronic explanation at greater length below, but it is the diachronic explanation which this study specifically seeks to reassess. What is the evidence to support the claim that the numeral's positional shift reflects a diachronic difference between preexilic and postexilic Hebrew?

Gesenius's description of the numeral's syntax relies upon the earlier research of Sven Herner presented in his 1893 published doctoral dissertation *Syntax der Zahlwörter im Alten Testament*, and so it is here that we must look for the evidence supporting the diachronic explanation.<sup>6</sup> Based on a detailed examination of all the instances of the numeral in the Hebrew Bible, Herner came to the conclusion that the later the biblical source, the more likely it was that the numeral would be placed after the noun. His statistics indicate, for example, that the numeral follows the noun only once out of 85 occurrences of the numeral in the preexilic source J (excluding 1); 8 times out of 198 occurrences of the numeral in the exilic text Ezekiel (excluding 1); and approximately 30 to 50 percent of the time in the postexilic books Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel.<sup>7</sup> As further evidence that the numeral's switch to postnominal position is a characteristic of Late Biblical Hebrew, Herner notes several passages within 1 and 2 Chronicles where the Chronicler has switched the position of the numeral as recorded in his preexilic source:<sup>8</sup> For example:

1 Kings 6:23: **ויעש בדביר שני כרובים**

2 Chron. 3:10: **ויעש בבית קדש הקדשים כרובים שנים**

1 Kings 7:15: **ויצר את שני העמודים**

2 Chron. 3:15: **ויעש לפני הבית עמודים שנים**

Subsequent studies of the numeral's syntax have reached similar conclusions using similar methods. The most influential example is Robert Polzin's monograph *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Prose*.<sup>9</sup> Like Herner, Polzin relies on

<sup>4</sup> A fourth relationship not listed by Gesenius is when the noun stands in construct with a following numeral (see Exod. 28:10). This construction will not be treated in the present study because it appears so infrequently.

<sup>5</sup> This convention, found in both biblical and inscriptional lists, also appears in other Semitic (Ammomite, Ugaritic) and non-Semitic (Mycenean) lists. For Ugaritic examples, see C. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Rome, 1965), p. 128. For Ammonite and Mycenaean

examples of this practice, see the references cited in G. Rendsburg, "Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of P," *JANES* 12 (1980): 65–80, esp. p. 71, n. 31.

<sup>6</sup> S. Herner, *Syntax der Zahlwörter im Alten Testament* (Berlin, 1893).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53–68.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 68–69.

<sup>9</sup> R. Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose* (Missoula, Montana, 1976), pp. 58–60.



statistical patterns and the syntactic contrast between the Chronicler and his preexilic sources to reach the conclusion that the positioning of the numeral after the noun is a trait distinguishing Late Biblical Hebrew from preexilic Hebrew. Polzin even goes so far as to utilize the numeral's shifting syntax as one of nineteen criteria by which to date one of the major redactional strata within P (P<sup>s</sup>) to a time approximating that of the Chronicler. Polzin's dating of P has been contested, but judging from the approving references to his work in recent studies of the numeral's syntax in Biblical Hebrew,<sup>10</sup> his analysis has done much to perpetuate the diachronic view first proposed by Herner.

At first glance, the evidence supporting the diachronic explanation seems compelling, but a closer look reveals weaknesses. One problem with the diachronic account has already been noted by two critics of Polzin's methodology, A. Hurvitz and G. Rendsburg.<sup>11</sup> Polzin acknowledges—as did Gesenius and Herner before him—that the numeral follows the noun not only in late biblical books, but also in lists regardless of whether the list was composed in the preexilic period or in the postexilic period. Polzin thus excludes from consideration many preexilic examples of the numeral appearing after the noun on the grounds that the position of these numerals reflects synchronic rather than diachronic factors. The problem is that Polzin does not take into account synchronic factors in his treatment of postexilic biblical material, where many of the numerals coming after nouns also appear in lists. If he had done so, the contrast between preexilic Hebrew and postexilic Hebrew would not have seemed so pronounced. As Rendsburg observes, for example, many of the places in Chronicles where the numeral follows the noun actually appear in lists and administrative documents.<sup>12</sup> If one excludes these examples on the grounds that they can be explained synchronically, there remain only 9 instances in Chronicles where the numeral follows the noun (1 Chron. 4:42, 12:40; 2 Chron. 11:17 [twice]; 11:21 [twice]; 13:9; 13:21; 20:25)—a total equal to the number of times that the Chronicler places the numeral before the noun in nonlist contexts (2 Chron. 8:13; 11:21 [twice]; 13:17; 13:21 [twice]; 21:20; 26:17; 36:21). The same criticism can be lodged against Polzin's analysis of P.<sup>13</sup> Polzin claims that P<sup>s</sup>, allegedly the latest redactional stratum within the P source, reflects the tendency of Late Biblical Hebrew to place the numeral after the noun. By Polzin's own admission, however, 46 of the 55 instances in P<sup>s</sup> where the numeral follows the noun appear in Numbers 7, and since this chapter consists of a series of lists, these examples are liable to synchronic explanation. Of the remaining 9 instances, 4 (Exod. 30:23 [3 times]; 24) also appear in lists (though Polzin himself does not acknowledge this), and 2 (Exod. 36:18, 37:23) appear in passages which reiterate material from an earlier stratum in P (Exod. 25:37, 26:11), which according to Polzin's own analysis does not reflect Late Biblical Hebrew. The upshot of all this is that if one consistently factors in synchronic factors which can affect the numeral's position, the diachronic pattern described by Herner, Gesenius, and Polzin becomes much less clear.

Now this does not mean that there is absolutely no difference between a late biblical source such as Chronicles and that of its preexilic sources. In his criticism of Polzin, Rendsburg ignores the fact that the Chronicler frequently changes the word order of his

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, Indiana, 1990), p. 278, n. 12.

<sup>11</sup> Hurvitz, *Linguistic Study*, pp. 167–68; Rendsburg, "Late Biblical Hebrew," p. 71. Compare also the

criticisms of Herner's methods in Kropat, *Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik*, pp. 50–53.

<sup>12</sup> Rendsburg, "Late Biblical Hebrew," p. 71.

<sup>13</sup> Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew*, pp. 105–9.

preexilic source from prenominal to postnominal position (see, for example, 1 Kings 6:2 and 2 Chron. 3:3). Whatever the overall statistical picture, this contrast represents compelling evidence that Chronicles does indeed exhibit an inclination to place the numeral after the noun. Where I believe Polzin is mistaken is not in his claim that the Chronicler often places the numeral after the noun but, rather, in his claim that the shift in the numeral's position in nonlist contexts *originated in and was exclusive to the late biblical period*, for there is evidence that this shift occurred sporadically already in the preexilic period. Thus, while preexilic biblical texts often place the numeral before the noun in nonlist contexts, they do sometimes place the numeral after the noun (see, for example, Gen. 42:3; Josh. 17:5; 2 Sam. 24:24).<sup>14</sup> The same is true of a few preexilic inscriptions such as the Arad letters (seventh/early sixth centuries B.C.E.), where a numeral embedded within a larger sentence sometimes follows the noun, for example in Tel Arad 16, ll. 4–5: “I sent the money, 8 shekels, to the sons of Ge<sup>3</sup>alyahu,” ושלחתי את ה[כסף] 8 לבני גאליהו (see also Tel Arad 1, ll. 2–3).<sup>15</sup> One also finds the numeral in both syntactical positions in other Canaanite dialects contemporary with First Temple period Hebrew.<sup>16</sup> In the Mesha inscription (eighth century B.C.E.), for example, the numeral is placed before the noun 4 times (ll. 2, 8, 16, and 20), after the noun 1 time (l. 28).<sup>17</sup> Phoenician and Ugaritic texts also exhibit both word orders.<sup>18</sup> The behavior of the numeral in these Canaanite dialects confirms the impression given by the preexilic biblical and inscriptional examples that the numeral's shift from the prenominal to postnominal position in nonlist contexts was not a historical development which emerged only at a late stage in the evolution of Biblical Hebrew but occurred already in preexilic stages of Hebrew/Canaanite. The Mesha Inscription even suggests that the numeral and noun could switch their positions within the language of a single author.

Granting that the numeral appears both before and after the noun in preexilic Hebrew/Canaanite, one could still argue for an increasing tendency in postexilic Hebrew to place the numeral after the noun—were it not that the evidence for such an increase is much

<sup>14</sup> Admittedly, a few of the preexilic instances of the numeral following the noun are textually suspect. For instance, כפרים שלשה in 1 Sam. 1:24 is probably a corruption of כפר משלש reflected in LXX's translation of this verse. See P. K. McCarter, *1 Samuel* (New York, 1980), pp. 56–57.

<sup>15</sup> The text is cited from Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem, 1981), p. 30. The numeral 8 in this inscription is represented by a hieratic sign. For discussion of hieratic numerals in Arad and other Hebrew ostraca, see idem, “The Use of Hieratic Numerals in Hebrew Ostraca and the Shekel Weights,” *BASOR* 184 (1966): 13–19; Hurvitz (*Linguistic Study*, p. 168) has cited another preexilic inscription in which the numeral follows the substantive—Tel Qasile Ostrakon B (first published in B. Maisler, “Two Hebrew Ostraca from Tell Qasile,” *JNES* 10 [1951]: 265–67). In this example, however, the numeral is not integrated into a sentence, and its position probably reflects the conventional practice of placing the number after the noun in lists and other accounting documents.

<sup>16</sup> Compare Rendsburg, “Late Biblical Hebrew,” p. 71.

<sup>17</sup> For the text of the Mesha Inscription, see A. Dearman, ed., *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab* (Atlanta, 1989), pp. 93–95. For a discussion of the numeral's syntax in Moabite, see F. Andersen, “Moabite Syntax,” *Or.*, n.s., 35 (1966): 81–119, esp. p. 91.

<sup>18</sup> See J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik* (Rome, 1970), pp. 157–58; S. Segert, *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic* (Munich, 1976), pp. 182–83. For the numeral's syntax in Ugaritic, see S. Loewenstamm, “The Numerals in Ugaritic,” *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies* (Jerusalem, 1969) pp. 172–79; J. Blau, “Marginalia Semitica II,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972): 57–82, esp. pp. 78–79. There are several factors which caution against using Ugaritic to illuminate Biblical Hebrew word order: (1) unlike biblical Hebrew, numerals in Ugaritic were evidently marked for case, something which could be crucial for determining the precise syntactical relation of the numeral to the noun in this language; (2) it is still not clear how Ugaritic relates genetically to the Canaanite branch within West Semitic.



shakier than it appears. We have already seen that many of the places in Chronicles and other postexilic sources where the numeral follows the noun appear in lists and thus can be explained synchronically.<sup>19</sup> As we thus reduce the number of times that the numeral follows the noun in late biblical sources, we ought also to note that several postbiblical sources show no clear preference for one position or the other (as in, for example, the Hebrew text of Ben Sira)<sup>20</sup> or consistently place the numeral before the noun (the *War Scroll*, the *Rule of the Community*, and the Mishnah).<sup>21</sup> When one considers all the evidence, one is led to the conclusion that rather than increasingly preferring one word order over another as time went on, Hebrew vacillated between the two orders in *both* the preexilic and postexilic periods, with different dialects from each period either preferring one order over the other or alternating between the two.

This brings us to one final consideration which serves to undermine further the view that the numeral shifted to postnominal position only at a late stage in the history of Biblical Hebrew. Several scholars have attributed the numeral's positional shift to the influence of Aramaic, which is known to have had a significant impact on the lexicon and syntax of Hebrew in the exilic/postexilic periods.<sup>22</sup> The advantage of this hypothesis was that it explained why the shift seemed to have occurred so suddenly and so frequently in late biblical sources. As we have just seen, this shift occurred in Hebrew in the preexilic period as well—evidence against the claim that the shift reflects the Aramaicization of exilic/postexilic Hebrew—but even if we set aside this objection, the evidence of Aramaic itself suggests that the shift can occur at various points in the history of the language and without the external catalyst of another language's influence. As Polzin himself realized, Aramaic is itself inconsistent in its placement of the numeral.<sup>23</sup> Elephantine Aramaic consistently places the numeral after the noun, but Biblical Aramaic, Qumran Aramaic, and Syriac all exhibit both word orders or prefer to place the numeral before the noun, as is the case with the numerals 2 and above in the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*.<sup>24</sup> The behavior of the numeral in these dialects offers corroborating evidence that the numeral's vacillating position in Biblical Hebrew was not a change confined to a particular historical period but, rather, reflects a more generalized development which occurred repeatedly in the Canaanite and Aramaic branches of Northwest Semitic.

<sup>19</sup> This is also true of certain documents among the Dead Sea Scrolls which appear to prefer to place the numeral after the noun. See Rendsburg's discussion of the *Copper Scroll* ("Late Biblical Hebrew," p. 71).

<sup>20</sup> The number appears before the noun in 37:18; after the noun in 13:7. For the Hebrew text of Ben Sira, see *The Book of Ben Sira: Text, Concordance and an Analysis of the Vocabulary* (Jerusalem, 1973).

<sup>21</sup> According to Polzin (*Late Biblical Hebrew*, p. 60), the *War Scroll* places the number first 41 out of 44 times, and the *Rule of the Community* places the number first 19 out of 20 times. For Mishnaic Hebrew, see M. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew*, (Oxford, 1927), pp. 194–95. It appears that the noun-number order is the prevailing order within all the diachronic and geographic subdivisions of Mishnaic Hebrew, but this subject still needs systematic study.

<sup>22</sup> See Kropat, *Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik*, p. 53; Ben David, *Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic He-*

*brew*, pp. 65, 85. For further discussion of Aramaicisms as a resource for dating Biblical Hebrew, see Hurvitz, "The Chronological Significance of 'Aramaicisms' in Biblical Hebrew," *IEJ* 18 (1968): 234–40.

<sup>23</sup> Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew*, p. 58.

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of the numeral's syntax in Biblical, Egyptian, and inscriptional Aramaic, see H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (Halle, 1927; Hildesheim, 1962), p. 322, sec. j; S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1975), p. 344. For the numeral's syntax in Qumran Aramaic and especially the *Genesis Apocryphon*, see J. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary* (Rome, 1971), p. 219; T. Muraoka, "Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," *Revue de Qumran* 29 (1972): 7–51, esp. pp. 21–22. For the numeral's syntax in Syriac, see Muraoka, "On the Syntax of Some Types of Noun Modifier in Syriac," *JNES* 31 (1972): 192–94.

If the numeral's shifting syntax does not reflect a single historical change triggered by Aramaic but has instead occurred repeatedly in various dialects of Hebrew, Canaanite, and Aramaic, what factor or factors prompted these shifts, and why did they occur so sporadically in the history of the language? For a possible answer we must return to Gesenius's grammar which offers an important clue when it suggests that the shift in the numeral's shifting syntax reflects an increasing tendency in Hebrew to treat the numeral as an adjective, the latter normally appearing in postnominal position. Although Gesenius views the numeral's adjectivization as a diachronic development which emerged only at a stage in Biblical Hebrew—a view which this study contests—his explanation can be revised to fit the repeated appearance of this shift in both pre- and postexilic Hebrew. Drawing on cross-linguistic studies which have observed several basic universal patterns in the numeral's integration within larger syntactical structures, I will suggest that the conditions for the numeral's slide toward adjectival behavior were inherent in the structure of Canaanite/Hebrew, arising from natural, easily reproducible analogies. This suggestion strengthens Gesenius's claim that the numeral's shifting syntax is a sign of increasing adjectival behavior, but as we will see, it also reveals why Gesenius and others were incorrect in pinpointing this shift to a single period in the history of Hebrew.

In an important article entitled "Universals in the Syntax of Cardinal Numbers," the linguist G. Corbett sought to explain the odd morphosyntactical behavior of numerals by comparing it with the morphosyntactical behavior of nouns and adjectives in a wide range of languages.<sup>25</sup> Based on this comparison, Corbett proposed a "universal" in the behavior of simple cardinal numbers: their morphosyntactical behavior falls between that of adjectives and nouns. The behavior of the numeral in Biblical Hebrew offers a convenient illustration of this universal. As has been often observed by grammarians, the numerals in Hebrew "have a mixed nature, in part substantival, in part adjectival."<sup>26</sup> On the one hand, the gender of the numeral (with the exception of very high numerals) is governed by that of the quantified noun—behavior which resembles that of an adjective modifying a noun.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, the numerals 2 and above frequently appear before the noun, often in construct form (שלשת ימים), behavior which resembles that of a noun in a bound relationship with a following noun. The morphosyntactical traits of the numeral in Biblical Hebrew thus obey Corbett's universal that the behavior of cardinal numbers typically falls between that of nouns and adjectives.

Corbett's study offers strong support for the interpretation of the numeral's shifting syntax as a sign of increasing adjectival behavior. Indeed, Corbett himself relies upon the numeral's position in relation to the quantified noun as one of several ways to identify adjectivelike behavior in a numeral. The example he cites is Yoruba, where the numerals 1–19 follow the noun (the adjectival position), whereas 20 and above precede the noun (behavior which resembles that of phrases consisting of two nouns).<sup>28</sup> Corbett concludes

<sup>25</sup> See J. Corbett, "Universals in the Syntax of Cardinal Numerals," *Lingua* 46 (1978): 355–68.

<sup>26</sup> The citation is from P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique* (Rome, 1923), p. 261.

<sup>27</sup> In Biblical Hebrew when the numerals 3 and above are connected to masculine nouns, they are marked with what appears to be a feminine ending; when they are connected to a feminine noun, they are

marked by the absence of this ending—a phenomenon often referred to as "chiastic concord" or "chiastic agreement." For attempts to explain this phenomenon, see E. A. Speiser, "The Pitfalls of Polarity," *Language* 14 (1938): 187–202; R. Hetzron, "Agaw Numerals and Incongruence in Semitic," *JSS* 12 (1967): 169–97, esp. pp. 180–90.

<sup>28</sup> Corbett, "Universals," p. 365.



from this evidence that the lower numerals in Yoruba behave more like adjectives and the higher behave more like nouns. The situation in Yoruba, where the numeral's position varies depending upon its value,<sup>29</sup> is not identical to the situation in Hebrew, where as we have seen a given numeral's position varies from dialect to dialect or even within a dialect. In each case, however, the numeral's shift to postnominal position—the normal position of noun-modifiers in both Yoruba and Hebrew—is a sign of greater adjectival behavior.

At this point it would be helpful to know whether the numeral in Biblical Hebrew exhibits other morphosyntactical changes which could confirm the interpretation of the numeral's shifting syntax as a slide towards adjectival behavior, but unfortunately the biblical and extrabiblical evidence provides no other obvious way to corroborate this hypothesis. There are no discernible contrasts between preexilic and Late Post-Biblical Hebrew in the marking of the numeral for definiteness and gender, two potential measures of adjectival behavior. Syntactical case is another feature which could conceivably reveal a slide towards the adjectival pole, but nouns, adjectives, and numerals are not marked for case in Biblical Hebrew, while in other dialects of Canaanite, case endings are not sufficiently well attested to serve our investigation. This brings us to one final characteristic which may testify to the numeral's adjectivization: the syntactical number of the quantified noun (i.e., whether the noun is singular or plural). Corbett has noted that in Egyptian colloquial Arabic when the numeral follows the noun (the normal position of adjectives) the noun is always plural, whereas when the numeral precedes the noun (as if the numeral were a noun in construct relationship with the following noun), the syntactical number of the noun depends on the value of the numeral (3–10 require a plural noun; 11 and above require a singular noun).<sup>30</sup> Corbett concludes from this evidence that "the instances with a plural noun show a more adjectival numeral than those with a singular noun."<sup>31</sup> A similar situation may obtain in Biblical Hebrew, where nouns preceding a numeral almost always appear in the plural (except for collective nouns). Indeed, one can point to examples in which the Chronicler alters his original source not only by repositioning the numeral after the substantive, but also by pluralizing an originally singular substantive: Compare 1 Kings 6:2: *שְׁשִׁים אָמָה* with 2 Chron. 3:3: *אָמֹת שְׁשִׁים*. Such evidence raises the possibility that, as seems to be the case in Egyptian colloquial Arabic, the pluralization of nouns preceding numerals in Biblical Hebrew show a more adjectival numeral. What confuses the picture is that when the numeral precedes the noun in Biblical Hebrew, the noun is also often in the plural—though not consistently so.<sup>32</sup> Is the noun's pluralization when coming before a numeral also a sign of a more adjectival noun? This is what Corbett suggests for low-valued numerals in Egyptian colloquial Arabic followed by a plural noun. Alternatively, perhaps the noun's pluralization is tied to some other factor. Based on the behavior of the numeral in various Semitic languages, Hetzron has postulated that in proto-Semitic lower valued numerals imposed plural number

<sup>29</sup> This accords with Corbett's second "universal" that if numerals within a language vary in behavior, it is the higher numerals which will be more noun-like. For an explanation of this phenomenon, see Hurford, *Language and Number*, pp. 197–206.

<sup>30</sup> Corbett, "Universals," pp. 71–72.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>32</sup> See A. Sperber, *A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Leiden, 1966), pp. 621–22. Note, however, that higher valued numerals—especially 100 and above—often precede a singular noun. See Waltke and O'Connor, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, p. 281 and n. 21.

and genitive case on the following noun.<sup>33</sup> If the noun's pluralization indicates a more adjectival numeral, one would expect the numeral's case not to govern the noun in a genitive relationship but to be governed by the noun in an appositional relationship. Since the meaning of the data is thus disputable, I will refrain from treating the noun's pluralization as a sign of the numeral's adjectivization.

Notwithstanding the lack of corroborating evidence, Corbett's analysis not only provides cross-linguistic support for the interpretation of the numeral's shift to postnominal position as a sign of its becoming more adjectivelike; it also leads to an understanding of why this shift occurred so frequently in the history of Hebrew/Canaanite and without the external trigger of another language's influence. Building directly on Corbett's study, Hurford has argued that the meaning of the cardinal numeral makes the "nominal modifier" (adjective) the most natural syntactical category for it (a cardinal numeral seems to bear the same relation to a collection as a dog's color bears to the dog), and this, in turn, affects the numeral's syntactical behavior.<sup>34</sup> In light of Hurford's study, we can understand the numeral's positional shift in Hebrew as having arisen from conditions inherent within the language, or rather, within the way numerals are used within language. The natural functional/semantic parallel between numerals and adjectives (especially quantifying adjectives such as "few" or "many") is likely to have exerted a strong pressure on numerals to move to the normative syntactical position of adjectives.<sup>35</sup> The natural analogy between 2 and above and the numeral 1, which had moved to the postnominal position in Hebrew at an earlier date, is also likely to have exerted pressure favoring the shift.<sup>36</sup> The fact that these pressures were built into the structure of the language (arising from natural analogies with other noun modifiers) rather than external to the language (arising from historical contact with another language) helps to explain why the numeral's syntactical shift occurred not as a single change in the history of Hebrew but as several independent and spontaneous changes.

Of course, this hypothesis raises the question of why the numeral did not eventually acquire all the morphosyntactical traits of the adjective. After all, not even the numeral 1, which is the most adjectival of the numerals, behaves exactly like an adjective. The answer may lie in the fact that there were also linguistic and social factors which operated to restrain the numeral's slide toward adjectivization. These include the nounlike function of numerals in the counting system (where they denote collections of objects), which may have exerted a countervailing pressure of analogy on numerals integrated into

<sup>33</sup> Hetzron, "Innovations in the Semitic Numeral System," *JSS* 22 (1977): 167–201. For a different view of the situation in Proto-Semitic, see Blau, "Marginalia Semitica II," p. 58.

<sup>34</sup> Hurford, *Language and Number* (New York, 1987), pp. 187–226.

<sup>35</sup> Note J. Greenberg's universal ("Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements," in J. Greenberg, ed., *Universals of Language* [Cambridge, Mass., 1963], p. 86) that when the descriptive adjective normally precedes the noun in a language, demonstratives and numerals almost always precede the noun as well, while in languages where the adjective follows the noun (as in

Hebrew), the numeral follows or precedes the noun with equal frequency. In other words, the numeral often appears on the same side of the noun as the adjective. Seen from this perspective, the numeral's switch to pronominal position in Biblical Hebrew brings it into closer alignment with a universal pattern in the numeral's syntactical behavior.

<sup>36</sup> Note Hurford's observation (*Language and Number*, pp. 194–95) that lower valued numbers, which tend toward adjectival behavior, exert a pressure of analogy on higher valued numbers, especially adjacent ones. As for why the numeral 1 became more adjectival and at an earlier date than higher value numerals, Hurford (*Language and Number*, pp. 194–95) offers a



sentences to behave like nouns,<sup>37</sup> and the growing perception of preexilic word order as the "classical" or normative word order. Thus, while there were semantic/syntactic forces pushing the numeral in the direction of adjectivelike behavior, the gravitational pull of the noun never surrendered its grip on the numeral either. One result of this "tug of war" (Hurford's metaphor) was that the morphosyntactical profile of the numeral in Hebrew never became completely adjectivelike; another was that in many dialects of Hebrew the numeral never made the switch to the postnominal position of adjectives.

To summarize, we have uncovered two interrelated reasons to reject the prevailing view that the shifting syntax of the cardinal numbers 2 and above in Biblical Hebrew reflects a diachronic development, surfacing in exilic Hebrew and becoming the preferred word order in Late Biblical Hebrew. First, in contrast to the claims of scholars such as Herner and Polzin, one need not see in the biblical and extrabiblical evidence an increasing tendency to place the numeral after the noun; rather, this evidence attests to a series of shifts which recurred throughout the history of Hebrew/Canaanite at varying levels of diffusion. Second, with the help of cross-linguistics studies of the numeral's syntactic behavior, we have concluded that these sporadic shifts were generated not by the external influence of Aramaic in the exilic/postexilic age but by the pressure of analogy with other noun modifiers. The numeral's shift to postnominal position in Biblical Hebrew (and other Canaanite dialects) thus represents an example of what linguists call "parallel development," which arises when members of a language family are structurally predisposed to develop in the same direction even without mutual contract.<sup>38</sup>

---

possible explanation. He postulates that the use of numerals in the counting sequence (where numerals behave as collection-denoting nouns) exerts pressure on numerals in other constructions to behave morpho-syntactically like nouns even when they function as noun modifiers. Lower value numerals such as 1, however, may have entered the language as noun modifiers before the rise of the conventional counting sequence,

in which case they would not have been subject to such pressure.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 194–95.

<sup>38</sup> For another example of parallel development in Semitic, see Blau, "The Parallel Development of the Feminine Ending *-at* in Semitic Languages," *HUCA* 51 (1980): 17–27.



# A RADIOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE DOOR OF THE GREAT MOSQUE (ULUCAMI) AT CIZRE\*

A. BERIL TUĞRUL, *Istanbul Technical University*

## I. INTRODUCTION

THE Great Mosque at Cizre is one of the most important mosques in southeastern Anatolia dating from the latter period of the Seljuk Empire (thirteenth century A.D.). Its door is a unique example of Seljuk art and craftsmanship.<sup>1</sup> The base is constructed of two wooden sections, each 300 × 120 cm, and is covered with a brass plate and has brass fittings (fig. 1).

During the studies leading to our initial restoration of the door, traces of patterns were discovered by chance on the reverse side of the brass plate. Because the patterns were not uniform, it was thought that before it was used on the door, the brass plate had been used for another purpose. It is, in fact, not a single piece but many small pieces of brass which together form a pattern. It was very difficult, however, to determine the original pattern formed by the brass pieces using conventional techniques.

## II. RADIOGRAPHIC STUDIES

The first step was to X-ray the second section of the door to examine certain areas which had pattern traces on them.<sup>2</sup> The X-rays indicated that in some sections the pieces of brass were set in a uniform pattern quite close to each other; in other areas, however, the plates were placed one on top of the other and in a haphazard pattern (figs. 2 and 3). This haphazard configuration of different patterns indicated that the door had been previously restored.

Carefully controlled radiographic exposure parameters ensured that parts of equal thickness were X-rayed in identical fashion; unfortunately, however, because there were not a

\*I would like to thank Nazan Ölçer, Director of the Museum of Turkish-Islamic Arts, and Ülkü İzmirli, Director of Central Laboratories for Restoration and Conservation of Istanbul, for having given me the opportunity to study the door of the Great Mosque at Cizre. I also would like to thank Aylâ Gökem, also of the Central Laboratories, for her assistance in this study, and Hasbi Yavuz, Director of the Istanbul Tech-

nical University Institute for Nuclear Energy and the ITU TRIGA Mark-II Reactor, as well as the Reactor personnel, who were all very helpful to me during the reactor studies and throughout the entire investigation.

<sup>1</sup> The door was moved from Cizre to Istanbul for an exhibit; see the catalogue for this exhibit, N. Tapan and S. Aykoç, *The Anatolian Civilisations III: Seljuk/Ottoman, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul May 22-October 30, 1983*, trans., Esin Atıl, The Council of Europe, XVIII European Art Exhibition (Istanbul, 1983), p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Radiography was performed in the Central Laboratories for Restoration and Conservation of Istanbul by the team of the Institute for Nuclear Energy, Istanbul Technical University, under my direction.



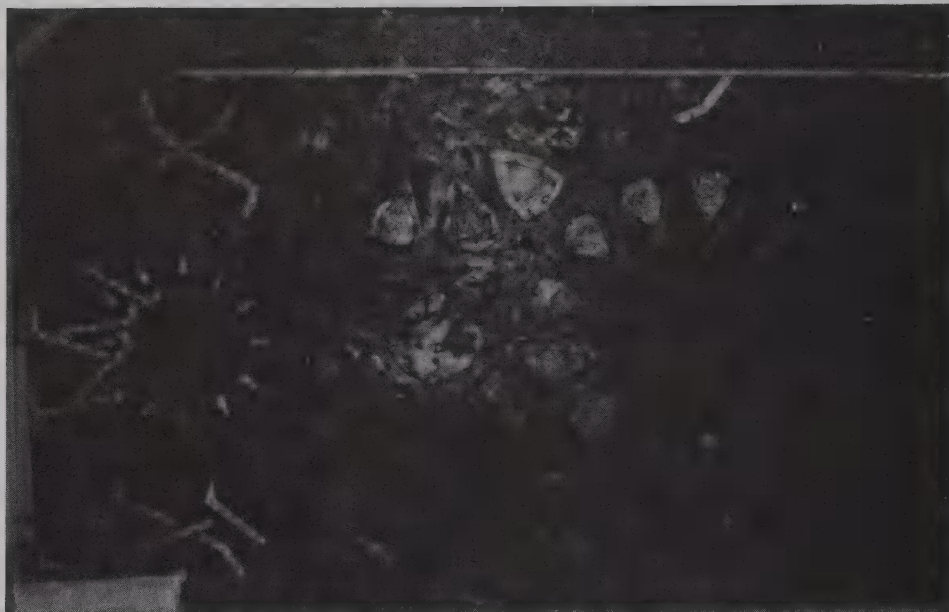


FIG. 1.—A view of the door of the Great Mosque at Cizre



FIG. 2.—Radiograph of a section of a nonuniformly set brass plate



FIG. 3.—Radiograph of a section of a uniformly set brass plate



FIG. 4.—Radiograph of an area showing traces on the brass pieces

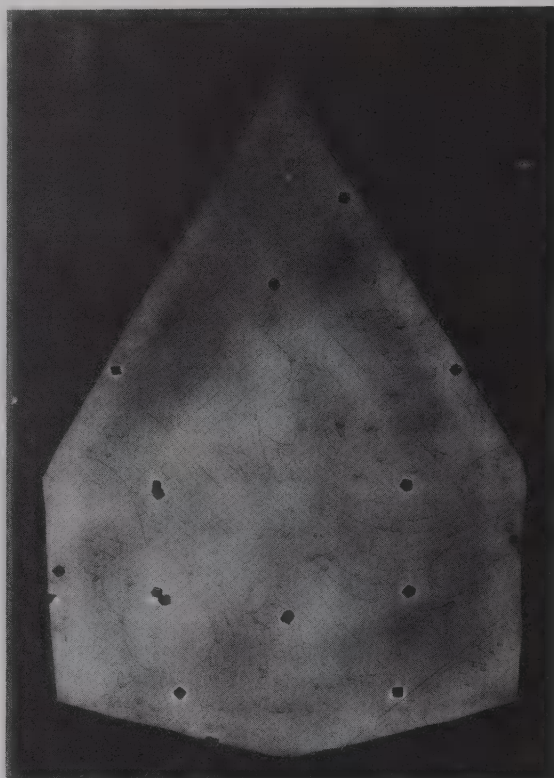


FIG. 5a.—Radiographs of patterned pieces

sufficient number of like pieces it was not always possible to obtain reliable results. Furthermore, after careful examination of the wood, it was clear that the door had been constructed of different types of wood, still further evidence of earlier restoration.

Some unusual traces could be seen on the X-rays of the second section of the door (fig. 4). After closer inspection, it could be observed that there had been patterns in relief which had evidently been flattened out with a hammer before being put to this new use. Very small patterns could be observed in some areas, as well as some painted sections, which appeared to have an undercoat of a different color.

Radiography was then used for analysis of the first section of the door, which also had many patterned pieces on it (fig. 5a and b). These decorations are unique and generally composed of animal figures, with some mixed figures, one, for example, depicting a bird with the head of a child (fig. 6).

The important pieces with traces of patterns on both sections of the door were investigated using neutron radiography, which measures hydrogen.<sup>3</sup> Traces of what was most

<sup>3</sup> For more detailed information about neutron radiography, see P. van der Hardt and H. Rottger,

*Neutron Radiography Handbook* (Dordrecht, 1981).



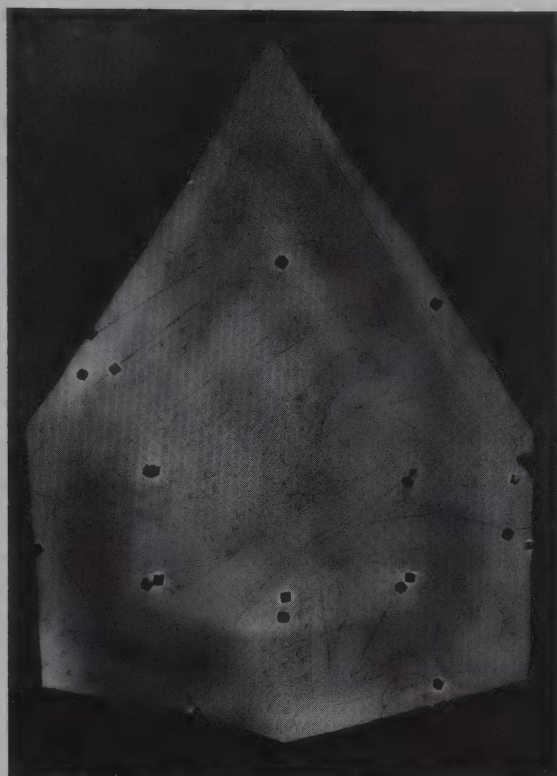


FIG. 5b.—Radiographs of patterned pieces

probably paint could be seen, as there was evidence of natural dyes, which paint would have contained at that time.<sup>4</sup>

Irradiation and neutron radiography of the samples were performed in the TRIGA Mark-II Reactor at Istanbul Technical University. Neutron activation analysis revealed that all the patterned brass pieces closely resembled each other and confirmed that they dated to the same period.

The various painted brass plates were further examined under a microscope. There appeared to be different types of red and black paint on the pieces, some having red lines painted over the black lines. A binocular microscope was used, and it indicated that the black paint may have been an undercoat; on other pieces, however, there was no evidence of black paint under red.

Ultrasonic testing was performed on the patterned pieces to establish their exact thickness.<sup>5</sup> There was variation in the thickness but not more than about 0.1 mm. In general,

<sup>4</sup> For information about the archaeometric application of neutron radiography, see my article "An Application of Neutron Radiography to Archaeology,"

*Archaeometry* 32 (1990): 55–59.

<sup>5</sup> For more on ultrasonic testing, see R. Halmshaw, *Non-destructive Testing* (London, 1991).

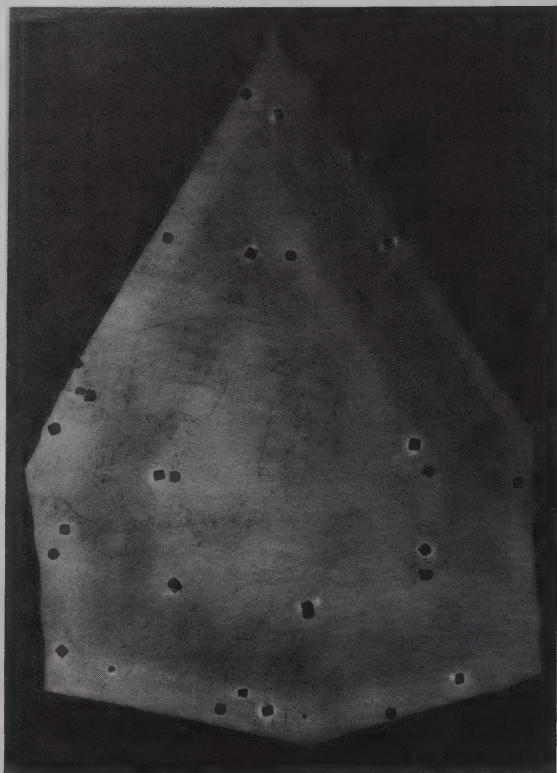


FIG. 6.—Radiograph of a painted piece with figure

the thicker pieces (0.5 mm) belonged to the first part of the door, and they were patterned. The thickest part (0.6 mm) had mostly painted figures on it. The thinner pieces tended to have very small figures or traces on them which showed up more on the second section of the door.

Finally, gamma radiography was used to investigate the door-knocker.<sup>6</sup> It is a unique object composed of two symmetrical dragon shapes (fig. 7).<sup>7</sup> Figures of dragons are very rare in Seljuk Anatolian decoration and may have been intended as Far Eastern symbols but as Islamic symbols as well: the movement in their design is reminiscent of Islamic motifs. The door-knocker was originally made up of separate knockers, one of which was removed and is now in Berlin.<sup>8</sup> We performed gamma radiography using a Cobalt-60

<sup>6</sup> For the archaeometric application of gamma radiography, see my article "Archaeometric Investigations by Using Non-destructive Testing Methods," *Proceedings of the Third Nuclear Science Congress* (Istanbul, 1989), vol. 2, pp. 679–84 (in Turkish).

<sup>7</sup> For detailed information about the door-knocker,

see A. Ertuğ, *The Seljuks—A Journey through Anatolian Architecture* (Istanbul, 1991).

<sup>8</sup> See Ü. Erginsoy, "Metal Arts of the Anatolian Seljuks," in G. Öney, *Decoration and Arts in the Architecture of the Anatolian Seljuks*, İş Bankası, Cultural Publication no. 185 (Ankara, 1990) (in Turkish).

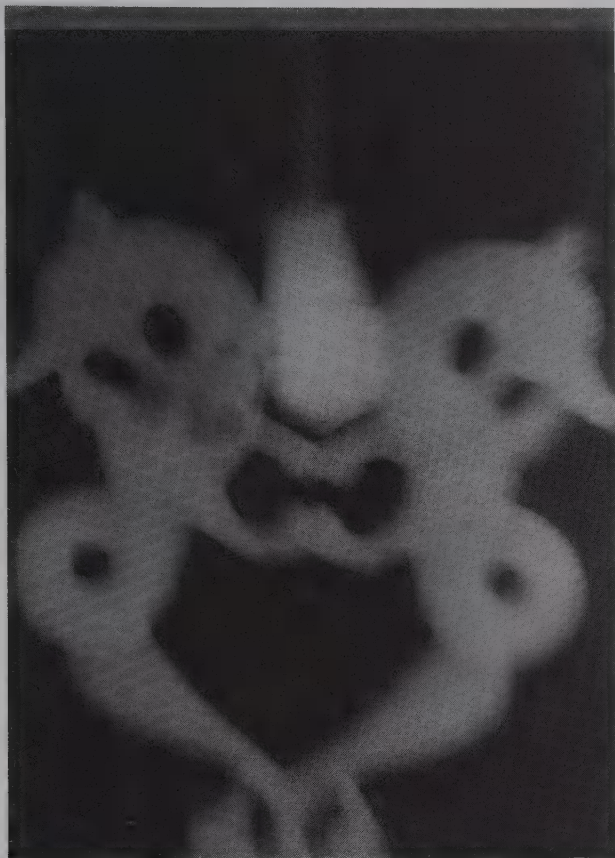


FIG. 7.—Gamma radiograph of the door-knocker

radioisotope to examine the remaining knocker, which revealed a basic flaw which appeared to have occurred during its manufacture.

### III. CONCLUSION

The various parts of the Cizre Great Mosque's door were examined and evaluated using five different methods (X-, gamma, and neutron radiography; neutron activation analysis; and ultrasonic testing). Much detailed information was obtained through these various nondestructive methods of investigation.

The mosque was constructed during the latter part of the Seljuk Empire, and there is a strong indication that there may have been problems in obtaining certain materials for its construction. Thus, the brass plates appear to have originally been used elsewhere and later "recycled" for use on our door. The existing part of the door-knocker has an apparent manufacturing flaw, which may be evidence of the existence of some more general problems in manufacturing during the period just preceding the Mongol invasion.



The door's brass plates appear to have been taken from several different places, and the different patterns or painted pieces which could be examined clearly through standard radiography and ultrasonic thickness measurements revealed that several pieces may have been repainted at the time of their initial use, prior to being placed on the door; this conclusion was reinforced by closer inspection under a microscope. Neutron activation analysis, however, suggested that all the patterned pieces in question could be dated to the same period.

Radiography further indicated that the door had been previously restored. As discussed above, the brass pieces on the door were placed in different, haphazard configurations, and the door's base was made up of more than one type of wood, since the brass plates displayed varied embedding particulars—all evidence which strongly suggested that parts of the door had known another life.

*Pagans and Herders: A Re-examination of the Negev Runoff Cultivation Systems in the Byzantine and Early Arab Periods.* By YEHUDA D. NEVO. Midreshet Ben-Gurion, Negev: IPS Ltd, 1991. Pp. 259 + 215 + 81 figs. + 36 pls. + 7 maps.

The work under review is the first of a projected four-volume study by the late Yehuda Nevo and presents the results of an archaeological survey of the central Negev begun in 1987 along the Nahal 'Avdat and the Nahal Tsin. The area is comparatively famous in archaeological circles, as it includes a number of sites examined and popularized by Evenari and others in their studies of runoff agriculture in the Negev. *Pagans and Herders* is first and foremost a reexamination of these studies of Negev agriculture. Briefly, the runoff farming model holds that the intricate network of walls, mounds, pits, cisterns, buildings, stone lines, and corrals observable in wadi-beds and along hillsides in the Negev are the result of massive, state-run efforts to conduct runoff water from the hillsides to farms in the wadis, mostly datable from the Nabataean to Byzantine periods (first century B.C.E. to sixth century C.E.).

As Nevo points out, however, there is much that Evenari et al. did not report and that cannot adequately be explained by their model. Chaps. 1 and 2 present the archaeological data, and Nevo concludes that there is no archaeologically demonstrable proof behind a Nabataean dating to these structures, and that those examined by him all date to the Byzantine or early Islamic period. Furthermore, Nevo estimates that the number of crops that these farms produced would never have been useful for more than subsistence farming, as opposed to the surplus-distribution system pictured in the runoff model. But the most direct argument against the runoff model is that

many of the structures that Evenari et al. studied simply can have had no agricultural function at all.

Up to this point, Nevo provides a cogent and reasonably well-supported argument, and his critique of the runoff farming model's methodology and assumptions (with its "simulated" Byzantine farms made of poured concrete and assisted by modern fertilizers) is well taken; however, it is when the author presents his alternative interpretation of the installations in the central Negev that problems begin. Nevo does not disagree with the general conclusions of the runoff model: there *are* obvious plots fed by obvious water channels. But for Nevo, these were not mere Byzantine agricultural settlements. He sees them, with their subsidiary structures, as pagan cult sites built by the Byzantine authorities in the fifth century to encourage the presence of pagan nomadic groups in the area, who would have used the plots to grow surplus fodder for their flocks. These shrines were abandoned in the mid-sixth century, although similar pagan cultic foundations were established by the Umayyad government in the early Islamic period alongside the ruins of the earlier shrines.

This is a rather controversial interpretation to make based on these structures, and additional examples of Nevo's revisionist ideas regarding the rise of Islam can be found elsewhere in his work on Sde Boqer. As *Pagans and Herders* is not directly concerned with such matters, I will limit my criticism of the material at hand to two broad categories.

## *On "Cultic" and "Pagan"*

The interpretation of archaeological data is an uncertain procedure, and this uncertainty is responsible for many of the faults that Nevo finds with Evenari et al. The idea that these sites are cultic, however, does not seem any more plausible. Overall, Nevo's Negev cult is a strange

\* Permission to reprint a book review in this section may be obtained only from the author.

one. While its claims to a Jāhili lineage are best left for specialists to evaluate, a simple glance at a top plan shows it to be somewhat impracticable. Its niches, altars, offering tables, pits, stelae, rubbing stones, fires, libations, etc. crowd the pages of this volume and would cramp the tiny structures in which they are supposed to occur. Indeed, structure BF2 fairly overflows with supposed traces of ritual activity. Despite this preeminence, Nevo does not attempt to explain why it lacks any artifactual material or indications of serious investment of capital in its maintenance (pp. 23 ff.).

The main problem seems to be that there is no way to determine archaeologically *any* function for some of these structures. Or is there? The work of Renfrew on Cyprus and, more particularly, that of Alon and Levy on Gilat in the Negev has approached this very problem and has established some general criteria for recognizing cultic activity in the archaeological record. Many aspects of the sites investigated by Nevo could be interpreted to fit *some* of these criteria (such as the presence of a delineated, functionally unique space), but some of the more important criteria for cultic activity are not found. In particular, the artifactual evidence does not show any signs of offerings, exotic goods, or cult-related products, despite the author's identifications of offering tables, ledges, lamps, and niches.

Even when cultic activity can be identified, it is still another task to identify the orientation of that cult. In the past, the methodology for such identifications has been sketchy and founded on naive ideas about religion. A cross carved on a stone, for example, might indicate the presence of Christians. So it is with Nevo, except that the archaeological data is even less substantial: because no identifiable indications of a Christian or Jewish orientation can be found, this "cult" must be pagan. Similarly, the lack of obvious indications of Muslim belief is used to suggest the continuity of pagan practices on the site into the early Islamic period.

Some historical interpretations of the rise of Islam do indeed portray the new religion as emerging fully formed from Arabia, and Nevo, with the revisionists, is quite right to question such an assumption. Even if Islam *was* fully institutionalized from the beginning, however, it

should not be surprising to archaeologists that no obvious signs are apparent in an area like that surveyed by Nevo. At a remote rural site, possibly inhabited by a semi-nomadic community, yet near enough to sizable towns and settled religious communities (with even a *polis* at Elusa), we would not expect much indication of religious orientation. Nevo's evidence merely proves that it is as yet impossible to tell *what* sorts of beliefs were represented in his survey area.

While ritual behavior can be identified by certain criteria, we should remember that ritual—although generally associated with religious activity—can be quite secular. There are after all other social rituals such as trade, labor, and exchange. Although many of the installations as presented by Nevo remain enigmatic, the archaeological data that he presents fall short of demonstrating any religious ritual. But it may well indicate patterns of another sort: that other ritualized preoccupation of the ancient world, agricultural labor, still seems to fit these patterns best.

#### *Reliability of the Archaeological Data*

In addition to the question of cultic activity, the problem of the data used in *Pagans and Herders* deserves some brief comment. First, the treatment of the archaeological history of his survey area before and after the Byzantine and Islamic periods is ignored. In an area always frequented by nomads and often visited by ancient, medieval, and modern armies, such a gap can have serious consequences for archaeological interpretation. It is quite possible that some of the phenomena that have been lumped into the Byzantine or Islamic periods are actually the result of activity prior or subsequent to those periods. The activity represented in the area surveyed is probably much more complex than either Evenari or Nevo indicate.

Second, the categories used to group phenomena occasionally "mix apples and oranges." To identify the elaborate, well-made cistern at Bor Havarim as "PIT8" is inappropriate (pp. 71–74) and to thereby treat it as functionally equivalent to PITs 1A–C (p. 65) even less so.

Third, there is much about the general presentation of the data that could be improved. Many of the maps and top-plans are sketchy and make



scientific comparison between sites impossible. A base map of the survey area, *including* architectural features, should also have been supplied. Although one may take issue with the reliability of his data, however, one can only praise Nevo for the genuine hard work put into the project. Scarcity of time, money, and encouragement are familiar to every archaeologist, and the limited quality of the data should be understood in this light.

In general, *Pagans and Herders* skillfully shows the flaws in the theories of Evenari et al. and has amply shown that there are many yet unknown facets to the archaeology of the Negev. For these contributions, Nevo should be praised. In replacing the runoff-agriculture interpretation wholesale with unsupportable claims of rituals and cults, however, Nevo has merely added to our questions.

PAUL M. COBB

*The University of Chicago*

---

*The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education.* By JONATHAN BERKEY. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992. Pp. xi + 238. \$39.50.

This admirable new study of Mamluk Cairo focuses almost exclusively on its many educational institutions and their collective role in the teaching and propagation of Islamic learning. The title was carefully chosen to convey exactly what the book is about. The key terms are "transmission" and "Islamic knowledge," and it is the social context within which both operate that determines the kind and variety of materials the author investigates. His subjects are the madrasas, mosques, and convents that served as educational centers of advanced study, most of which were at the same time pious foundations brought into being by the rulers and the wealthy. He groups his results into chapters on instruction, institutions, professors and patrons, religious education of the military elite, and the position of women.

There are two main sources for this approach: biographical dictionaries and endowment deeds. No one else has as thoroughly and resourcefully exploited these materials for what they reveal

about the institutions of education and how they functioned socially. Yet the limitations of such a study were already set by the documents — something Berkey is more than aware of but which he has not chosen to face at the outset. He does insist throughout, however, that Islamic education was and remained informal and therefore was not wholly represented by the institutions he analyzes. This becomes increasingly obvious directly in the final chapters where he attempts to enlarge the subject matter. They are the more interesting at the same time, nevertheless, also because the broader context of Mamluk learning which ought to encompass the areas of major achievement by the scholars in this realm was simply not confined to or explained by the course of instruction in the pious establishments. Mamluk achievements in such subjects as history and mathematical astronomy, as well as art and architecture, are striking. But the connection to the educational process Berkey describes is remote and hence puzzling. There is, accordingly, in general, a tendency in his work to discuss the social rather than the intellectual aspects of education, emphasizing people and institutions at the expense of books and ideas.

One explanation for this dichotomy is an educational product that may be reflected merely in the narrowness of both kinds of Berkey's primary sources which, being readily available and relatively abundant, obviously overbalance the scales. Pious endowments mirror, in large part, the devout wishes and intentions of founders who naturally tended, in this instance, to worry about the form rather than the content of educational transmission. The curriculum was assumed to contain only the most basic of subjects — those connected solely to elements of what are the common and thus least demanding and most uncontroversial of religious studies. Both the deed of establishment and the resulting institution were confined within this stricture. For other, but not dissimilar, reasons the literature of biography did not escape the same disadvantage. Neither really provides a whole or complete picture of Mamluk education, of its educational establishment, or of the material it fostered and transmitted.

These problems might have taken a more central place in Berkey's work; to face them squarely, however, unfortunately suggests an

overall deficiency in his approach which is not necessarily fair to him. But there ought finally (or even initially) also to be an investigation of the crucial relationship between piety, as displayed here, and education itself in this context. Ultimately, of course, this broader viewpoint might remain theoretical and unachievable. It often demands information, for example, that is missing or inadequately represented in the sources. Most importantly, it involves questions that come up, in part, as a reaction to Berkey's laudable success in fully exploiting the two types of material that can supply coherent answers for other, equally critical inquiries.

Working with the kinds of documents that form the backbone of Berkey's new evidence is, moreover, not at all easy, especially in that he has had to master a chronological range of them. This, however, allowed him to fashion what is truly a "history" of higher education in an important period rather than a snapshot of it at a given moment as would be possible, for example, by the review of one endowment deed only. Given the relative paucity of sound material on the social role of educational forms of any kind in the medieval Islamic world, Berkey's readable, intelligent, and thoroughly perceptive examination of this set of now well-documented institutions is a vital beginning that will itself help produce, in turn, better answers to the problem just raised, as well as others in less specific situations, such as are involved in the comparative study of higher education between Europe and the Middle East.

PAUL E. WALKER

Chicago, Illinois

---

*Les trois vies du Sultan Baïbars.* By JACQUELINE SUBLET. Paris: Editions Sindbad, 1992. Pp. 256. 450 francs.

The Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars (r. 1260–77) is one of those rare figures whose life is not only amply documented in contemporary sources but has also become the subject of legend and lore. Two of the "three lives" of the title are Mamluk biographies; the third is the huge folk novel known as *Sīrat Baybars*. A word about each of the three:

(1) The eulogistic work of the sultan's servitor, Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir. It was first published along with an English translation in 1956 by S. F. Sadeque under the title *Baybars I of Egypt* (Dacca, 1956). Unfortunately, Sadeque had access only to the defective British Museum manuscript, and so her edition and translation are not complete. The more complete Istanbul manuscript was published in Riyadh in 1976, and it is this edition that Sublet uses for her translation here (pp. 24–54) which, however, covers only the first part of Baybars's career (pp. 45–68 of the Riyadh edition, corresponding to Sadeque, Arabic text pp. 1–16, English translation pp. 75–95).

(2) The more down-to-earth account of al-Maqrizī (d. 1442), extracted from his *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*. It forms the substantial part of the book under review (pp. 60–171). Sublet also includes a few of Maqrizī's opinions in pt. 1, where they contrast with those of Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir.

(3) As for the folk novel or romance, its flavor can be savored in English only in chap. 22 of Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (first published 1860). Georges Bohas and Jean-Patrick Guillaume have been publishing parts of a French translation since 1985 (projected to be completed in sixty volumes in the year 2015!). The extracts here (pp. 176–97) are reprinted from three of the parts already published.

The book is profusely illustrated, including monuments and miniatures both from the Mamluk period and otherwise. Especially noteworthy are the splendid photographs of Roland and Sabrina Michaud. Indeed, purchase of this expensive volume would be less justified on its scholarly merits than as a coffee-table book illustrating some of the splendors of Islamic civilization.

ROBERT DANKOFF

*The University of Chicago*

---

*Allegory and Philosophy in Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā) with a Translation of the Book of the Prophet Muhammad's Ascent to Heaven.* By PETER HEATH. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. Pp. xv + 246.

That several of the major Islamic philosophers, notably Avicenna, Ibn Tufayl, and Suh-

rawardi, wrote allegories as one of the vehicles for the dissemination of ideas is well known. In the case of Avicenna, as with Suhrawardi, these allegories exist side by side with a body of other works in which this literary form has no role at all. For such authors to have chosen to convey philosophical knowledge by an allegory, therefore, demands some explanation, especially when virtually the same intellectual material appears in both types of exposition. For the study of Avicenna this problem has vexed nearly all of his investigators from the earliest medieval period to modern scholarship. Whole schools of interpretation of Avicenna, in fact, depend in part on the extraordinary value they accorded to his allegorical expression. Ibn Tufayl's comments about Avicenna in his introduction to his own *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqzān* are only one example—albeit an extremely important one—among a number of others; and the very concept of an “oriental wisdom”—something additional to and beyond Aristotle—relies heavily on a view of Avicenna that sees a deep profundity in his allegorical writings that, according to this view, the rest of his work does not possess.

This issue is, in a general way, the subject of Peter Heath's book, although he takes it up less as a philosophical quandary than as a literary consideration. His chief purpose is to analyze the use of this kind of literature in Islamic intellectual writing, of which Avicenna's few allegories are prime examples, and, in the present instance, the sole focus of his efforts. Accordingly, a number of useful results derive directly from Heath's application of the technique of literary criticism rather than philosophy. Surely, the more narrowly philosophical approach has previously failed to provide an adequately comprehensive context for this problem. Heath insists on labeling these two strands in Avicenna's writings, mythos and logos, having adopted these terms from contemporary Platonic studies. Mythos is allegory and logos is ordinary, discursive philosophical exposition. These are the methods respective of Plato and Aristotle, and their works readily indicate this division. Having set the discussion in the relative new and highly useful context supplied by these terms, Avicenna's efforts seem more neutral and less charged with extralogical meaning, although the old debate about whether his allegories were

attempts to push knowledge beyond Aristotelian categories remains interesting. The introduction of concepts of mythos and logos into the study of Islamic philosophical and intellectual discourse will obviously be fruitful in a number of areas—Avicenna and his allegories being only one of them.

Heath's study contains a lengthy introduction—as much as half of the book—to the career and writings of Avicenna and to the content of Avicennian philosophy, particularly the elements of it that are required in understanding the “geographic” details of his *Ḥayy*, especially the map of the soul and the cosmic regions. For the specialist in Avicenna all this may be unnecessary, but it is worthwhile going through it to Heath's most interesting comments which appear especially in his chap. 7 entitled “The Interpretation and Function of Allegory.” Together with the following chapter on “Allegory and Allegoresis,” these constitute the heart of the matter at hand.

A middle section of the book presents a translation of the relatively brief *Miṣrāj Nāma*, an allegory attributed to Avicenna which some scholars have doubted. Heath carefully reviews all of the evidence which he believes substantiates Avicenna's authorship. Perhaps it does, but it also appears that Heath has not given enough weight to the possibility that Avicenna wrote only the allegory proper but not its less impressive commentary, which would therefore belong to a later disciple.

The issue of the authenticity of the *Miṣrāj Nāma* does not, however, impinge at all on the main aims of this highly interesting book which rest even so on Avicenna's well-known works. To be sure, its presentation at the midpoint of the larger discussion is a distraction, even with the technical analysis of this one treatise relegated to the appendixes. One would hope, nevertheless, that readers will bear with Heath's full agenda, which is certainly well worth following in its entirety.

PAUL E. WALKER

Chicago, Illinois



*Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism: A Parallel History of Their Origins and Early Development.* Edited by HERSEL SHANKS. Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1992. Pp. xxii + 380 + 11 pls. \$28.95.

Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity are, of course, closely related traditions. Christianity began as a Jewish sect, and in its early history sought to define itself *vis-à-vis* Judaism. In the early years, Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism were in competition for converts, a struggle that intensified the rhetoric between the two groups. The animosity grew even greater as Christianity became more Gentile than Jewish, and the long-standing Hellenistic mistrust of Judaism was "sanctified" as an article of the new faith. But this enmity could be expressed with little more than angry words in the early years: Judaism was an officially protected religion under Roman law, while Christianity was not. After Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire, the old animosity could be transformed into legislation depriving the Jews of their civil rights—a turn of events that affects our society to this day.

Since the fates of these two traditions are so closely intertwined, one can hardly write a history of either religion without discussing some aspects of the other. Yet the general reader who was interested in both traditions, in their interactions and parallel developments, has had to sift through massive histories of Judaism and Christianity that were not designed to answer the question that such a reader may have been asking. The book *Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism* seeks to address this problem.

*Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism* lays out the histories of these two traditions side-by-side. Each chapter, dealing with a different era or tradition, is written by a different expert in the various areas: Geza Vermes writes the introduction; Louis H. Feldman writes "Palestinian and Diaspora Judaism in the First Century"; E. P. Sanders writes "The Life of Jesus"; Howard C. Kee, "Christianity through Paul"; Lee I. A. Levine, "Judaism from the Destruction of Jerusalem to the End of the Second Jewish Revolt"; Harold W. Attridge, "Christianity from the Destruction of Jerusalem to Constantine"; Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Judaism to the Mishnah"; Isaiah M. Gafni,

"The World of the Talmud"; Dennis Groh, "Christianity from Constantine to the Arab Conquest"; and James H. Charlesworth provides a final summary of the entire period. As Shanks states in the foreword, no single scholar could have written this volume, since no one is equally expert in Judaism and Christianity throughout the period covered by this work.

This volume is not a dry recitation of established facts. Rather, the scholars have brought their own research and particular (sometimes even peculiar) points of view to each of the periods covered. I will take the first two chapters as examples of the nature of the presentation.

The first chapter is Louis Feldman's overview of the first-century Judaism in Palestine and the Diaspora. It is a concise treatment of a complicated period in Jewish history. Certain aspects of this chapter are excellent: Feldman's discussion of the factors behind the Great Revolt avoids the simplistic theses of some recent studies and views the Revolt as the result of a complex interplay of historical, social, and religious factors. Also, his treatment of the Hellenization of Judaea bucks the recent trend stemming primarily from the work of Martin Hengel, drawing a sharp distinction between Jewish acculturation in the Diaspora and that of Palestine. Feldman assembles a large body of evidence indicating that Jewish Palestine had not so deeply imbibed of Greek culture as Hengel and others have argued.

The weaker aspects of Feldman's discussion relate to his use of the rabbinic materials as sources of first-century Jewish history. This weakness is especially evident in his discussion of the Jewish sects. In this section, Feldman writes, "The views of the Pharisees have survived in the rabbinic literature" (p. 12). While the much later rabbinic literature surely contains some authentic traditions about the Pharisees, it is also certain that the rabbis projected some of their own beliefs and characteristics on the group that they believed was their spiritual forebears. Separating authentic traditions from anachronisms is difficult. Feldman seems to accept the rabbinic depiction of Pharisaism as "normative" Judaism in first-century Judaea, a view now nearly abandoned by scholars of Second Temple Judaism. For example, Feldman argues that dif-

ferences between the Pharisees and Sadducees must not have been as great as Josephus indicates because the Pharisees could have simply "excommunicated" them (pp. 13–14). Feldman assumes here that the Pharisees had the authority to impose orthodoxy on first century Jewish society—a power the rabbis probably did not possess in great measure before the third century C.E. More likely, the Pharisees were a "populist" party that never possessed the kind of official power that the Sadducees exercised, depending instead on the *vox populi* to achieve their goals (Josephus *Ant.* 13.298).

Feldman's approach to the rabbinic sources also mars his treatment of Philo of Alexandria. Feldman questions the depth of Philo's Judaism on the basis that Philo attended the theater, a practice prohibited by the Talmud (p. 37)—a document of a different time and circumstance. He challenges Philo's Jewish education on the basis that he does not mention Hillel or Shammai, his Palestinian contemporaries, by name (p. 36). But neither Josephus (apparently) nor the New Testament, nor any other first-century Jewish literature, mention these sages by name either. The logical conclusion to draw from this silence is that the names of Hillel and Shammai were not widely known in the first century C.E. outside of those circles from which Rabbinic Judaism arose.

The second chapter is Sanders's reconstruction of the historical Jesus. Sanders pulled a difficult assignment. Despite the recent spate of studies on the historical Jesus, no consensus on this figure has emerged. Due to the nature of our sources, the nature of our subject, and the nature of ourselves, there will probably never be a reconstruction of the historical Jesus that will gain universal acceptance. Sanders offers one more reconstruction—a pretty good one, I believe—but one that cannot be regarded as definitive. Also, Sanders does not adequately justify his acceptance of certain gospel traditions as historically reliable, while rejecting others. The result is that his portrayal of the historical Jesus will probably not change anyone's opinion of this elusive figure.

Sanders's main test for identifying authentic history in the Gospels is the one that many other New Testament scholars use: traditions that seem

incongruent with later Christian beliefs and practice probably reflect authentic teachings and acts of Jesus, while those that are reflected in later Christianity may well be inauthentic (p. 54). Sanders admits there are limitations to this approach. He fails to mention, however, that it rests on a very precarious foundation: it assumes little continuity between the historical Jesus and later Christian tradition, a criterion whose validity is untestable. So, while this test may tell us which traditions are likely to be authentic, it cannot tell us which are inauthentic.

A major aspect of Sanders's reconstruction is his claim (stated with some reservation) that the source of Jesus' clash with Jewish authorities was his attack on the Temple. Sanders interprets Jesus' so-called "cleansing" of the Temple (Matt. 21:12–13; Mark 11:15–17; Luke 19:45–46; John 2:13–17), especially the overturning of the tables, as a symbolic destruction of the Temple. It was not motivated by Jesus' outrage at the buying and selling going on there, as the Gospels claim (pp. 55–57), but by apocalyptic expectation. Sanders ignores the fact that Matthew, Mark, and John place primary emphasis on Jesus' expulsion of the merchants from the Temple, while Luke, describing the expulsion of the merchants, does not mention overturning the tables at all. Clearly, the tradition about the expulsion is at least as authentic as that of the overturning of the tables, but it cannot be reconciled with Sanders's interpretation of the "cleansing" as an attack on the Temple.

While Sanders deals with several important aspects of Jesus' ministry, he avoids direct confrontation with one of the most crucial questions of the search for the historical Jesus: did Jesus claim to be the Messiah? Sanders does relate that the Gospels state that Jesus admitted to being the "Christ" (p. 76), but he does not tell us if he believes these charges were true or false. He tells us even less about what the term "Christ" might have meant to Jesus. To Sanders, the issue of Jesus' attack on the Temple is the "historically more illuminating" issue, while that of Jesus' claim of Messiahship leads to the "discussion of Christology," a discussion he apparently wants to avoid.

Some of the other chapters contain some similarly uneven treatments. At times, some verge

on what might be called "quirky" (for example, Kee's argument that there was no specifically "Jewish Christianity" in the first century C.E., pp. 94–97). Vermes's introduction and Charlesworth's conclusion therefore serve an important function in this volume. Vermes provides a critical preview of the book's contents. He summarizes each chapter and offers perspicacious comments on the methodology and reconstructions offered in them. Vermes's criticisms often represent just another opinion on questions without definitive answers, but they will warn the uninformed reader that the historical reconstructions found in the book are not the last word on the periods they cover. Charlesworth concludes the volume with a schematic survey of Jewish and Christian history in the first six centuries C.E. While hardly bias-free, it is more of an integrative survey than are the main chapters of the book.

In general, this is a handsome volume. The accounts are clearly written, avoiding jargon that would stump the lay reader, yet well documented enough to be useful to the scholar. Several of these chapters stand out as stimulating overviews. But the main question is, who will benefit from a volume that lays out the early histories of Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism side by side? Specialists will find little here that is new (although they might benefit from the opportunity to read the work of colleagues in other fields), while lay readers may find this book to be a challenge. Its contributors frequently skim over well-established ideas to dwell on issues of current scholarly debate. Perhaps the best use of this volume would be as a classroom text, perhaps for a course on Christian-Jewish relations in history, or for a class surveying the events of this crucial formative era.

ANTHONY J. TOMASINO

*The University of Chicago*

*The Jews of the Yemen 1800–1914.* By YEHUDA NINI. Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1991. Pp. xii + 256. \$28.

One of the most vibrant Jewish communities in the Arab world has been that of Yemen.

Yehuda Nini sets out in this book to trace the history of Jews in Yemen during the nineteenth century up to the beginning of the First World War. His study begins with a general introduction to Muslim Yemen, although this is based exclusively on outdated sources (nothing more recent than 1976). For example, the population of Ṣanʿāʾ, as noted on p. 4, has not been as low as 50,000 for many years now, nor is it accurate to cite the population "today" of Taʿizz as only 12,000. The second chapter focuses on the Jewish community, primarily that of Ṣanʿāʾ, in relation to certain political events of the time period, although Arabic sources are rarely consulted for these events. Nini continues with a discussion of the institutions and leadership of the Yemeni Jewish community, followed by analysis of messianic movements, contacts with other Jewish communities and migration after 1881 to Palestine. This is a useful source which will be of interest to scholars interested in recent Jewish history in Yemen, but it should be used with caution.

The source material used by the author is primarily from Hebrew documents, which the author claims are more accurate and reveal deeper insights than Arab or Ottoman sources (p. ix). This orientation is evident throughout the book, in such statements as "As usual, Hebrew sources describe the event at length; Arab sources touch on it briefly" (p. 31) in relation to events of the 1818 siege of Ṣanʿāʾ. The relevance of the Hebrew sources quoted is obvious, but the author appears not to have examined the abundant published sources and manuscripts in Arabic on the nineteenth century. The bibliography (p. 239) lists only three Arabic texts. Of these, two are biographical texts and thus not directly concerned with most historical events treated in Nini's study, while the general history of al-Wāsiʿī is derivative for most of the events discussed. In that the Arabic sources have been so poorly sampled, it is unclear how the author can justify their alleged poverty in relation to Jewish history in Yemen. Among the available studies in Arabic is the historical study by Ḥusayn al-ʿAmrī, entitled *Miʾyat ʿām min taʾrikh al-Yaman al-ḥadith* (Damascus, 1984), which covers the period 1748–1848, including, among other things, the 1818 siege. There are Zaydi



manuscripts on the legality of the so-called dung-gatherers decree. The author might also have looked at *Yuhūd al-Yaman* of ʿAbbās ʿAlī al-Shāmī or the numerous books in Arabic on the second Ottoman period.

Admittedly, this book is based on an earlier thesis, but it is quite extraordinary that the author has not included any source after 1976 for a book published in 1991. Two valuable articles not examined by Nini are "The Jews of Ṣanʿāʾ" (in R. B. Serjeant and R. Lewcock, eds., *Ṣanʿāʾ: An Arabian Islamic City* [London, 1983]), pp. 391–431 and A. Klein-Franke, "The Jews of Yemen," in W. Daum, ed., *Yemen: 3000 Years of Art and Civilisation in Arabia Felix* (Innsbruck, 1987), pp. 265–99. The major work of Braunlich and an important nineteenth-century article by Glaser are also missing.

The major contribution of the book relates to the discussion of Jewish messianic movements in Yemen (pp. 136–53) and Jewish migration to Palestine from 1881 to 1914 (pp. 172–233). As Nini notes, these two issues were not unrelated. While there is much valuable information collected in this book, it is often unbalanced. This is especially true in trying to reconstruct Jewish-Muslim relations in nineteenth-century Yemen. Nini rightly observes that many of the problems faced by Jews in nineteenth-century Yemen were situations in which Muslims also suffered (e.g., p. 54). The Zaydī authorities, he notes (p. 75) respected the Jewish religion and did not desecrate the sabbath, and Jews could move about the countryside freely (p. 96), whereas many tribesmen could not. Yet he readily accepts contemporary Jewish accounts of atrocities as accurate, even when there is an element of hyperbole in the rhetoric (see, for example, Sapir's statement that "naked and bare-footed orphans roam the city for a crust of bread" on p. 46). Throughout the book there is an underlying assumption that Jewish life in Yemen was a constant round of suffering, but is this not inevitable given the almost exclusive focus on the Hebrew sources?

The editing of the book is careless. For example, the author is Bury not "Burry" (p. 2, n. 3 ff.). While most of the Arabic terms are transliterated correctly, there are a number of errors, especially place-names (e.g., ʿAmrān not "ʿAmran"

on p. 5; Biʿr not "Bīr" on p. 40; Thulāʾ not "Thila" on p. 46; Ḥaḍramawt not "Ḥadramawt" on p. 92). The advisor noted on p. 28 should be al-ʿAffārī not "al-ʿAfārī." The dates for the Imām al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī are 1809–1817 (not "1909–17" as listed on p. 26).

DANIEL MARTIN VARISCO

Hofstra University  
Hempstead, New York

---

*The History of Cartography*. Vol. 1, Book 1. *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*. Edited by J. B. HARLEY and DAVID WOODWARD. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992. Pp. 604 + 395 pls. \$125.

This volume is the second to be published in a series that signals the coming of age of historical cartography as an academic discipline. The aim of this series is to provide nothing less than a comprehensive history of maps and mapping from prehistory to the present, so that for the first time in a universal history of cartography the non-Western world is receiving more than casual attention. But it is not only its ecumenical inclusiveness that makes this enterprise unique. The editors have adopted an unusually broad definition of a map as "an illustration of the spatial relations, actual or symbolic, of a place, an event, or a concept" (dust jacket and p. xix), thereby greatly expanding the scope of the term to embrace not only the development of scientific cartography but also depictions of the entire cosmos, spiritual journeys of the soul, and a whole range of other imagined worlds that hitherto have been but acknowledged selvages of serious cartographic study. The result is an entirely novel exposition of changing human perceptions of the world and of the role of maps in our own and other societies, all cast phenomenologically in terms of the specificities of the cultures concerned.

The cartographic history of the traditional Islamic world, which occupies nearly three-fifths of the volume under review and to which I shall restrict my comments, was compiled under the associate editorship of Gerald R. Tibbetts; but

certain Islamic materials deriving from South Asia are incorporated in pt. 2 of the volume, which was prepared under the associate editorship of Joseph E. Schwartzberg. Owing to these linkages with realms to the eastward and others with the cartography of European societies, the Islamic sections serve as a pivot between vol. 1 of the series and the remainder of vol. 2. Whatever the provenance of a particular Islamic map tradition, though, it is evident that it invariably pertained to a manuscript culture ("The printing press . . . had a delayed and muted impact," p. 6), that cartographic practice was hardly ever matched to cartographic speculation, and that extant maps are prevailingly abstracted from more inclusive texts with which their dating and provenance are not necessarily consistent. This dominance of the textual environment is reflected in the circumstance that the Islamic languages of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish all lack single words unequivocally denoting "map." It also suggests that in premodern Islamic societies maps were devised predominantly for the use of literate elites.

The Islamic matter in this volume is apportioned among four segments of text. The first is concerned principally with two of the more independent strains within the cartographic heritage, namely celestial mapping (authored by Emilie Savage-Smith) and the first ever survey of Islamic cosmographical diagrams (Ahmet T. Karamustafa), defined as "diagrams where two or more different orders of existence or component parts of the universe are correlated with each other" (p. 71). Both go well beyond conventional cartographic concerns when they evaluate such phenomena as, respectively, planispheric astrolabes as celestial maps and Gnostic and mystical diagrams.

The core of the second segment consists of three chapters by Tibbetts summarizing compendiously what is known about Islamic geographical mapping from its tentative beginnings under the Umayyads to the advent of Ottoman dominance. Incidental to this *tour de force* is, if not a resolution of the Balkhī problem, at least its clarification. Also in this segment are chapters on the maps of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī (S. Maqbul Ahmad), and on geodesy (Raymond P. Mercier) and *qiblah maps* (David A. King and Richard P. Lorch), both of these last distinct from, but in

their different ways intimately connected with, the main stream of Islamic cartography.

The third segment is unique in that it provides the first systematic account of cartography in the premodern Ottoman Empire (Karamustafa), followed by a discussion of itineraries and town views in Ottoman histories (J. M. Rogers). The fourth segment deals with Islamic navigation in the Indian Ocean in the apparent absence of charts (Tibbetts) and with the nature of the charts that were very much in evidence in the Mediterranean (Svat Soucek). In a final chapter the editors reflect on their achievements and the avenues for research that they have opened.

*The History of Cartography* claims, and justifiably so, to provide "a basic work of reference for scholars and other readers across the spectrum of the relevant disciplines" (p. xxiii). Accordingly it is furnished with a full bibliographical apparatus exemplified in footnotes, a bibliographical index, and appendixes attached to individual chapters, such as "Select List of Manuscripts of the Balkhī School," "Methods to Calculate the Qibla," "Preliminary List of Extant Manuscripts of the Kitāb-i Baḥriye." Transliterations of words from the languages of the Islamic world are furnished in approved scholarly forms, usually following the Library of Congress systems, and the whole work has been proofed meticulously. In the sections with which I have some familiarity I noticed only two slips: on p. 81 the title of the treatise by Jābir ibn Ḥayyān should be translated as *The Little Book of the Balance*, and on p. 110 "al-Kharkhī" should read "al-Karkhī." There is, too, unnecessary inconsistency throughout in the manner in which the Arabic final *-h* is transcribed (for example, *malḥamah* but *qibla*).

It is granted to few scholarly enterprises not only to extend the boundaries of a field of study but also to redefine it as a discipline. Yet that is precisely what this series as a whole is doing, and what the present volume has done specifically for traditional Islamic cartography. The canon of early maps has been enormously expanded and those maps uniquely interpreted as social constructions on strictly "internalist" principles, as concerned with meaning as with form. To have achieved this for cultures for which nothing comparable has previously been attempted is truly a feat of scholarship, but as the

editors themselves emphasize (pp. 526–18), it is not the end of a project so much as a challenging beginning, an agenda for future inquiry to be adopted or disputed on its own terms.

PAUL WHEATLEY

*The University of Chicago*

*Studien zur ugaritischen Lexikographie: Mit kultur- und religionsgeschichtlichen Parallelen, Teil I: Bäume, Tiere, Gerüche, Götterepitheta, Götternamen, Verbalbegriffe.* By KJELL AARTUN. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991. Pp. vii + 218. DM 88.

This volume represents the first of five projected parts examining Ugaritic words and phrases considered by the author to be obscure or misinterpreted. A short introduction (pp. 1–5) leads into the body of the work, in which Aartun discusses one or more lexemes derived from 98 roots (pp. 7–168); bibliographic information extends to 1985 (a single title). The volume concludes with three indexes (pp. 177–218), which facilitate access to a large amount of lexical data. These data will be useful to Ugaritic scholars compiling evidence on interpretation of the words and passages under consideration, and Aartun's own conclusions may act as a foil to other interpretations. The conclusions themselves, however, are almost uniformly suspect because of an idiosyncratic methodology.

Aartun sets out his methodology and assumptions very briefly in the four and one-half pages of the introduction. Firstly, the solution to past misunderstandings is to examine obscure passages against their immediate and more extended contexts, to include cultural and iconographic as well as literary evidence, and to adopt a comparative approach (pp. 1 f., 4 f.). This type of approach is scarcely new, however, and it clearly informs the work of many scholars whose results Aartun rejects. Nor does the author follow it with any noticeable consistency himself. The context is regularly invoked as proof, yet almost invariably in a vague and arbitrary way; the stichometry merits no consideration at all;<sup>1</sup> and

some contexts are too fragmentary to shape interpretation with any certainty (e.g., 1.19.I.1–19). Cultural material is cited sporadically and repetitiously (e.g., on hunting, pp. 51, 74, 97, 133, cf. 95): in cases where an unusual interpretation would benefit from such corroboration, it is generally lacking.<sup>2</sup> Virtually no iconographic data enter the discussion (e.g., p. 32). The main burden of proof rests upon comparative philology, which in practice means comparative etymology using Arabic material: forty-seven of the ninety-eight roots are elucidated entirely from supposed Arabic cognates, often involving a peripheral meaning of the root or a root with few derivatives; and an additional thirteen entries depend upon meanings found only in Arabic.<sup>3</sup> Regrettably, Aartun could not validate his methodology in the light of F. Renfroe's critique.<sup>4</sup>

Secondly, varying linguistic usage in prose texts (administrative) and cultic-religious texts (mainly poetic, including ritual) is significant in determining meanings (pp. 1–2, 4). The principal assumptions here pertain to the "poetic" texts, from which Aartun draws most of his obscure passages. Those assumptions are as follows: Ugaritic religion is shaped predominantly by the fertility cult in whose context it originated and developed; the language of this fertility religion is oblique and cryptic;<sup>5</sup> its intended meaning is expressed in terms of equivalence, similarity, and allusion.<sup>6</sup> These principles dominate the author's exegesis: no fewer than fifty-seven entries

<sup>2</sup> For instance, the interpretation of 4.247.25 assumes that the phrase *ʾalp. ʾalpn* denotes "zweitausend an (Dienst) gewöhnte/(ein)geübte (Raub-/Greifvögel)" (p. 11). However, such large numbers of raptors are surprising in the absence of cultural analogies, whether ancient or medieval.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 3–5, 7–13, 15 f., 19 f., 24, 27, 30 f., 33 f., 39, 43 f., 47, 54–57, 62, 64 f., 70, 72, 74–76, 82–84, 87–93, 95; nos. 21, 29, 32, 35, 41 f., 46, 58, 63, 66, 69, 80, 97. Included in this etymologizing is the elucidation of names and epithets (pp. 3–4, e.g., pp. 22–26).

<sup>4</sup> "Methodological Considerations regarding the Use of Arabic in Ugaritic Philology," *UF* 18 (1986): 33–74.

<sup>5</sup> It is expressed "in den Hauptzügen von einem indirekten, umschreibenden, verhüllenden Charakter mit ausgedehntem Gebrauch von Bildern und Vergleichen" (p. 2).

<sup>6</sup> Cultic language rests "auf drei Grundprinzipien: der Gleichheit, der Ähnlichkeit und dem daran Erinne[n]den" (p. 2).

<sup>1</sup> M. Dietrich and O. Loretz give examples of these two characteristics in their review in *Ugarit-Forschungen* (*UF*) 23 (1991): 439–43.



deal with passages having exclusively or primarily sexual connotations;<sup>7</sup> and, merely by way of example, Aartun lists twenty-eight terms referring obliquely to the male genitals, twenty to the female, and forty-six pertaining to intercourse and pregnancy (p. 3)! It is therefore most unfortunate that such far-reaching, and unconventional, conclusions rest upon a foundation for which the author offers no evidence at all. While a thorough, referenced discussion of the issues exceeds the scope of this review, the following points may be made: (1) although fertility is undoubtedly a significant theme in Ugaritic mythology (particularly 1.1–24), it is not explicit throughout those texts; (2) more importantly, fertility is expressed in seasonal and agrarian terms more frequently than in the sexual imagery envisaged by Aartun; (3) the ritual texts provide virtually no evidence for an extensive fertility cult conceived or enacted in sexual terms (cf. 1.132.2–3, 25–26?); (4) the intent of imagery must be established from usage and especially from context—no image has an inherent and constant correspondence to any one reality: therefore, the more oblique, indirect, or unusual the image, the less ambiguous must be the context.<sup>8</sup> It appears that Aartun has misjudged the *religious context* (as embodying a particular and pervasive form of fertility cult), and that this preunderstanding has almost invariably led to a distorted perception of the *literary context* of the passages studied. Other features of the methodology include a pronounced assurance about the perspicuity of readings (e.g., p. 27, no. 9), contradictory assumptions about the relationship between partially identical roots,<sup>9</sup> and the re-

peated assertion that intervocalic w/y are never deleted in Ugaritic (e.g., p. 18).<sup>10</sup>

A more detailed critique of the initial lexical entry must suffice to illustrate some of these points (*il*, pp. 7–10). The first attestation of *il* under consideration derives from 1.17.VI.23, normally read as \*<sup>2</sup>*ili*. Based upon the *etymology* (\*<sup>2</sup>*yl*), Aartun glosses the term as “‘Großer, mächtiger Baum’ (Kollektivbegriff)”; in translation, it becomes “die mächtigen Bäume.” However, the parenthesis insinuates into the definition a collective idea, necessary to Aartun’s interpretation but uncorroborated by any of the cognates cited. Based upon the *context*, Aartun proposes the concept of “großen Gewächsen mit Stämmen aus Holz” as most suitable. Evidently the immediate context is supplied by *gl* and *qnm*. The first word he glosses as “Wald, Dickicht” (cf. no. 65, pp. 103–5), compared with Arabic *gil*, *gayl(at)*, “dicht mit (hochgewachsenen) Bäumen bestandene Fläche, Dickicht.” Once again, the parenthesis betrays an imported idea: *none* of the derivatives of *gil* cited by Kazimirski indicates the idea of height or strength, but rather that of density and congestion—and it is extremely doubtful on cultural grounds whether a tangled undergrowth represents an ideal source of wood for a bow.<sup>11</sup> The second word, *qn(m)*, is derived by Aartun from Arabic *qān*, “sorte d’arbre dont on fait des arcs” (no. 75, pp. 130–32); the meaning “reeds” from \**qny* is rejected summarily due to the absence of *y* (see n. 10) and on both contextual and cultural grounds (see below). In this case, the Arabic “cognate” does provide a meaning that is remarkably apposite to the context of 1.17.VI.20–24; thus, it may well have shaped Aartun’s interpretation of the entire passage. However, it represents a lexically isolated term. As such, it constitutes an intriguing

<sup>7</sup> That is, all except nos. 2, 6, 8 f., 12, 16, 19 f., 22 f., 25, 31, 34, 37 f., 43, 47 f., 51–55, 58, 60, 62–65, 69, 73, 75 f., 82, 84, 87, 93 f., 97.

<sup>8</sup> Thus, the image of the staff is clearly erotic in Mesopotamian potency incantations; it has plausible, though not indisputable, sexual connotations in the context of 1.23.37 ff., but it is less clear in RIH 78/20.1?, 2?, 5, 14; and there is virtually nothing to give it such connotations in 1.19.I.14 (contrast p. 8).

<sup>9</sup> No. 31 contains the strange and unsubstantiated statement that “alle Wurzeln des Semitischen, die einen [emphasis added] oder mehrere Wurzelkonsonanten gemeinsam haben, grundsätzlich verwandt sind” (p. 57). Yet an emphatic difference is posited between \**rwm* and \**rmm* as the root underlying *trmmt* (p. 143).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. D. Sivan, “Diphthongs and Triphthongs in Verbal Forms of Verba Tertiae Infirmae in Ugaritic,” *UF* 16 (1984): 279–93; E. Verreet, *Modi Ugaritici: Eine morpho-syntaktische Abhandlung über das Modalsystem im Ugaritischen* (Leuven, 1988) (but note p. 22, n. 153).

<sup>11</sup> For instance, *gil* II/IV, 3, “être touffu et avoir des branches entrelacées (se dit d’un arbre)”; V, 1, “être touffu (se dit des arbres).” According to most recent interpreters, the wood for the bow appears in lines 20–21, *tqbm blbnn*; contrast Aartun, no. 63, pp. 99–101.

but tentative solution that must be validated by, rather than define, the context. Aartun claims such validation from the occurrence of *qn(m)* here and in 4.91.9–10, 158.12, 247.29, asserting that “bezieht sich nun aber *qn(m)*—Etymologie und Anwendung zufolge—in den behandelten Fällen ausnahmslos auf hölzerne Produkte” (p. 131). This is not so. The evidence for wood in 1.17.VI.23 is dubious; and it is virtually absent in the economic texts.<sup>12</sup> As a second line of argument against the root *\*qny*, Aartun claims that the context of 1.17.VI.23 deals solely with the bow, to which reeds would be irrelevant. The term *qš<sup>c</sup>t*, however, most plausibly refers to arrows (1.17.VI.19, 25, etc.): it is therefore entirely reasonable that Aqhat should refer to both bow and arrows in his reply.<sup>13</sup> One must conclude, then, that Aartun’s etymology for *il* is not suited to the context, that the literary context does not corroborate a wood product in line 23, and that the cultural context is inadequately clarified. While the usage of *il* as an attributive genitive is unusual (cf. Pss. 36:7, 80:11) and certainly merits reflection on alternative interpretations, it does not appear that the solution advanced here represents an improvement.

The second attestation of *il* occurs in 1.19. I.13, taken by the author as having a “gesicherte Etymologie” and meaning “*aylu*, ‘Hirsch.’” The Semitic term for “stag” is very consistently *\*ayyalu*, but Aartun posits an alternation in Ugaritic between singular *qatl* and plural *qattal*.<sup>14</sup> This he supports with reference

to unspecified analogies—presumably some of the Aramaic cognates listed on p. 10 (Targumic *aylā*; Syriac *aylā*, f. *ayl<sup>e</sup> tā*; Mandaic *aila*, pl. *ailia*). But the alternation in Aramaic is essentially between two bases, *ayyal* and Hebrew *ayyāl*, regardless of gender and number (see the other forms listed by Aartun). Since the reduction of *ayyal-* to *ayy<sup>e</sup> l-* is expected in Aramaic in an open unstressed syllable, it is not surprising if the doubled consonant is then shortened before shewa.<sup>15</sup> There is no reason to suppose that Ugaritic reduced its short vowels in this way, and the alternation *qatl/qattal* is atypical. Consequently, only the strongest contextual evidence should lead to such a conclusion for Ugaritic. There is no evidence. Aartun supposes that the passage clearly develops “einen umschreibenden (euphemistischen) Gebrauch des Wortes.” This requires a bizarre interpretation of four of the five adjacent words, however, none of which is at all clear.<sup>16</sup> The extended context being equally obscure, and dealing with conflict rather than copulation where it achieves any clarity (1.19. I.14, 15, *\*mhš*), this argument can safely be ignored. It therefore follows that the lengthy discussion of the association of stags with fertility in the ancient Near East is also irrelevant.

The types of argumentation analyzed above in relation to no. 1 can be replicated in almost every

Ugaritic names cited by Aartun derive from the same word, they also indicate a singular *qattal* base.

<sup>15</sup> Thus, Syriac regularly lost consonantal doubling when followed by shewa: cf. T. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar* (London, 1904), no. 21B. Compare Hebrew *aylōt* (construct plural, Ct. 2.7, 3.5), and the same phenomenon in comparable environments such as the Piel.

<sup>16</sup> (1) *k āp<sup>c</sup>* = a noun from *\*np<sup>c</sup>*, ‘to be useful’ > “Rute,” with cross-reference to *NP<sup>c</sup>*, which is not treated in this volume (cf. *nafa’a*, “être utile, . . .,” Kazimirski, vol. 2, p. 1314); (2) *bgdr<sup>t</sup>* = *\*gdr*, ‘to be suitable’ > “Vagina,” with cross-reference to missing *GDR* (cf. *jadura*, I,8, “être digne de quelque chose, . . .,” Kazimirski, vol. 1, p. 263, together with largely unrelated usages); (3) *klb* = “sehr gierig,” with reference to missing *KLB* (cf. *kaliba*, including among many usages I,5, “être très-avide, avoir la rage, la manie de quelque chose,” and I,2, I, passive, 2, III, 3, “avoir la rage . . .” [presumably evoking a rabid or violent dog], Kazimirski, vol. 2, pp. 920 f.); (4) *h<sup>t</sup>-h*, “sein ‘Stab,’” from which one suspects that the entire line of interpretation has arisen (cf. n. 8).

<sup>12</sup> Aartun proposes without further discussion that “kontextlich handelt es sich—der berechtigten Etymologie gemäß (siehe unten)—um (die Lieferung von) Produkte(n) aus dem Pflanzenreich, namentlich um hölzerne Materialien” (p. 130). It is true that 4.91 and 158 *tend* to enumerate food and vegetable products, with more animal products evident in 247. The only plausible wood product in all these texts, however, appears to be the reference to *almg* in 91.8.

<sup>13</sup> For a recent treatment of the Aqhat legend, see B. Margalit, *The Ugaritic Poem of Aqhat* (Berlin, 1989); on the role of reeds in arrows, compare the Dietrich and Loretz review in *UF* 23, p. 440.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. 1.6.I.24 *āylm*, 1.1.V.19, 5.I.17, 92.11, *āylt*—all taken as plural by Aartun. It is plausible, though, that *āylt* is singular in 1.92.11 (cf. *tgy*; so A. Caquot, *Textes ougaritiques*, vol. 2 [Paris, 1989], p. 33, and Margalit, “KTU 1.92 (Obv.): A Ugaritic Theophagy,” *Aula Orientalis* 7 [1989]: 71, 77). If *āyl* and *āyln* in the

entry. Many passages are therefore explained in extraordinary ways, usually due to the sexual innuendo read into them.<sup>17</sup> There is no doubt that Aartun has isolated many difficult passages where current solutions may not be adequate; and by addressing the problems and presenting information pertaining to them, he has surely contributed to Ugaritic lexicography, which still awaits an up-to-date lexicon. But few if any of his solutions are likely to yield definitions in that lexicon.<sup>18</sup>

D. M. CLEMENS

Cambridge, Ontario

<sup>17</sup> E.g., pp. 22 (1.4.I.16–18), 34 f. (1.114.4f), 36 (1.3.II.2.2), 38 f. (RIH 78/20.15–18), 41 f. (1.3.III.14–17), 45 (1.96.1–3), 55 f. (1.114.19), 80 (1.2.I.19), 81 (1.16.IV.3 f.), 119 (1.24.9, 13).

<sup>18</sup> The following entries tend to follow accepted interpretations: nos. 22, 23, 29, 32, 36, 41, 48, 51, 53, and 65. Certain solutions with few or no scholarly antecedents appear noteworthy: nos. 13, 16, 19, 38f, 45, 66, and 93. Others are at least possible: nos. 4, 20, 25f, 30, and 69. Generally, though, even these entries combine isolated data worthy of consideration into an overall interpretation that is not coherent.

*Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by WALTER BODINE, Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1992. Pp. x + 323.

*Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew* represents a valuable addition to the literature on classical Hebrew. Over the last twenty years, general linguistics has become an increasingly important aid to understanding the language of the Bible. Yet because of radical differences in emphasis and basic terminology, communication between linguists and biblical scholars has been poor at best. *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew* aims at helping to bridge this gap.

*Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew* consists of sixteen essays, drawn mainly from presentations given between 1983 and 1987 to the Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew unit at the annual Society of Biblical Literature meetings. The work is arranged topically, covering in turn phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, discourse analysis, historical linguistics, and graphemics. By design, half of the articles serve as general in-

troductions to their subject matter; the other half focus on practical analyses of Biblical (meaning, in general, *Tiberian*) Hebrew. The result is a diverse collection of readings, some of which could be used as adjuncts to a high-level Hebrew course, others of which might make good primers for Hebraists lacking linguistic training, and still others of which would be worth perusal even by those well versed in both Hebrew and general linguistics.

Rather than simply list all sixteen component articles, I will use the space allotted me to comment briefly on those that overlap with my main areas of expertise (phonology, morphology, and historical linguistics).

Pt. 1 of the first (i.e., phonology) section contains two articles written from what the editor labels a "structuralist" perspective. The first is by Monica Devens ("What Descriptive Phonologists Do"); the second is by E. J. Revell ("The Development of Səgōl in an Open Syllable as a Reflex of \*a"). Devens's prose is lucid and worth reading, despite a tendency to equate descriptive linguistics with the classical/neogrammarian methods used in traditional grammars. Revell's article is equally lucid. The most remarkable fact to emerge from his discussion is that  $\text{הָהָה}$ -type nouns do not, as is often thought, exhibit vowel harmony, but rather reflect a natural raising of \*a to [ε] in secondarily opened syllables.<sup>1</sup>

The second, "generative" part of the phonology section contains articles by Gregory Enos and Edward Greenstein. Enos's article ("Phonological Considerations in the Study of Hebrew Phonetics") explains how it is possible to analyze the phonetics of a language no linguist has ever heard. Greenstein's contribution ("An Introduction to the Generative Phonology of Biblical Hebrew") offers an introduction to generative-phonological analysis of Tiberian Hebrew. Like most generative phonologists, Greenstein tends to oversystematize. He argues, for instance, that  $\text{הָהָה}$  has an "underlying" *yod*, citing as proof  $\text{הָהָה־יָהּ}$ -type orthographies. In fact, such forms might just as well be analyzed as relics of a heterogeneous

<sup>1</sup> See my article "Tiberian Hebrew Segol—A Reappraisal," *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 1/3 (1900): 3–10, esp. pp. 7 ff., on how Revell's position might be modified so as to simplify a few apparent conflicts in his environments.



consonantal text.<sup>2</sup> Greenstein's derivations generally collapse well-known diachronic lengthening, reduction, and apocope rules onto the synchronic plane, possibly obscuring ways in which these rules were reanalyzed within the quality-based medieval phonological matrix.<sup>3</sup>

The morphology section contains articles by Randall Garr ("The Linguistic Study of Morphology") and Gary Rendsburg ("Morphological Evidence for Regional Dialects in Ancient Hebrew"). Garr's article represents an excellent overview of morphology, as it relates to Tiberian Hebrew. Rendsburg's article presents the hypothesis that the Masoretic tradition preserves certain non-Judaean morphology. While Rendsburg argues his overall thesis quite thoroughly, it might be pointed out that his clearest examples of non-Judaean forms all originate in the consonantal text.<sup>4</sup> The existence of this distributional anomaly leads us to consider whether the medieval נקדונים really represent perpetuators of ancient dialectal traditions, or whether they simply reacted to deviant patterns in the traditional text.<sup>5</sup>

Skipping over the sections on syntax, semantics, and discourse analysis brings us to the one on historical linguistics. This section contains pieces by Alice Faber and John Huehnergard. Faber's article ("Innovation, Retention, and

Language Comparison: An Introduction to Historical/Comparative Linguistics") explains how historical and comparative-linguistic principles can help us reconstruct the development of Biblical Hebrew. Huehnergard's article ("Historical Phonology and the Hebrew Piel") applies this methodology to just one task, namely, the reconstruction of the D-stem. Huehnergard's conclusion is that the medieval *qitt{e,e,a}l* D-stem pattern evolved from proto-Canaanite *\*qittila* (impf. *yVqattilu*) and that this pattern, in turn, arose out of proto-(Northwest) Semitic *\*qattila*. Although this overall analysis is well motivated, Huehnergard's treatment of *\*qattila* → *\*qittila* may be a bit forced. The initial environment has an explicit word boundary and operates under morphological constraints. It also requires extensive after-the-fact analogy and very uneven lexical diffusion.

After the section on the historical/comparative method comes an excellent section on graphemics. *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew* then concludes with a useful, though selective, bibliography, and with indexes of authorities and scriptural references. There is no subject index. The book itself is neatly typeset, securely bound, and reasonably priced. Especially notable is the publisher's decision to use acid-free paper in its production, which will ensure its presence on our libraries' shelves for at least several generations to come. For some books, this might be more of a curse than a blessing. Fortunately, this is not the case for *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*.

RICHARD L. GOERWITZ

*The University of Chicago*

*Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions: Corpus and Concordance.* By G. I. DAVIES. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. Pp. xxxiv + 535 + 28 unpaginated pages. \$110.

The only possible criticism of the title of this book compared with its contents is that the former lacks a definition of "ancient." In point of fact the term denotes inscriptions dating to before 200 B.C. (p. xii), those written, therefore, in the dialect of Hebrew corresponding to Biblical Hebrew rather than to Mishnaic Hebrew or to later dialects.

<sup>2</sup> Most III-yodh forms are pointed as if pausal, even when clearly not in a pausal position (e.g., Deut. 32:37; Isa. 21:14, 56:12; Jer. 12:9; Ps. 68:32; Job 12:6). The נקדונים were apparently as confused as we are. Greenstein transcribes יחזיון (Isa. 26:11) as a paroxytone, which is not correct.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., for example, Geoffrey Khan, "Vowel Length and Syllable Structure in the Tiberian Tradition of Biblical Hebrew," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32/1 (1987): 23–82. Greenstein's approach has ample precedent in the generative literature. See, for example, Alan Sanford Prince, "The Phonology and Morphology of Tiberian Hebrew" (Ph.D., diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1975).

<sup>4</sup> Vowel-only cases are unclear. עֲדָתִי (Ps. 132:12) is plural (see Ps. 25:10; also 2 Kings 17:15, 23:3; 2 Chron. 34:31). The -i is odd, but not unparalleled. Singular שְׁמִיחָה (Ps. 45:16) is pointed as in Ps. 16:11 (i.e., שְׁמִיחָה; see also יִירֵד[ו]ת in Pss. 45:1 and 84:2). קָה before nongutturals is a minor disjunctive variant of -ה. The pataḥ in כָּלָהֶם (2 Sam. 23:6) has parallels elsewhere (e.g., 3fs perfect verbs like יִנְבְּחָם [Gen. 31:32]). יָנִי (Ps. 141:5) is problematic, no matter how we analyze it.

<sup>5</sup> See n. 2 above, on confusion of יחזיון-type orthographies.

The two principal parts correspond directly to the two terms in the subtitle: on pp. 1–263 one will find the corpus of the inscriptions, including description, brief bibliography, and text, but without translation; on pp. 265–535 a concordance of all occurrences of all words attested in the inscriptions. The twenty-eight unpaginated pages at the end of the volume contain a “Synopsis of Collections of Inscriptions,” i.e., text number or initial page number in the various collections and studies of Hebrew inscriptions (my own study edition of the Hebrew letters is included here, for example, though its scope is exclusively epistolary).

The “corpus” is organized first by site, from “Lachish,” to “unidentified site,” with inscriptions numbered from “1.001” to “99.001” (the number before the decimal augments by one for each site; within the site category gaps may occur). An alphabetical list of sites is given on pp. xxiii–xxiv, enabling the reader immediately to locate within the volume those texts discovered in excavations at a particular site. Second in the “corpus” is a series of texts organized by text type, irrespective of find site (this organization is apparently owing to the fact that many items of each category do not come from regular excavations). There are six of these sections, numbered discontinuously both before and after the decimal: §100 “Seals and Seal Impressions” (100.001–005, 007–009, and so forth); §105 “Royal Stamps”; §106 “‘Judah’ and ‘Jerusalem’ Stamps and Coins”; §107 “Other Official Stamps”; §108 “Inscribed Weights”; §109 “Inscribed Measures.” These sections are exclusive of the first part of the corpus, and jar stamps from Lachish, for example, are therefore to be found in §100 rather than in §1. The logic behind the discontinuous numbers is explained on p. xiv, but it is not clear in every case. One cannot, in any case, look at the first and last numbers of a section (e.g., §100.001–900) and calculate the number of inscriptions included in the category.

The concordance is organized strictly by alphabetical order, without subdivisions for common nouns, personal names, divine names, etc. It is a true concordance in that all occurrences in the corpus are listed. Each entry places the lemma in the middle of the page, with (reasonably) meaningful segments of the sentence or text in

which the word is found on each side of the lemma. The text reference is on the left margin; only the text number in this volume is indicated (e.g. the reference for “yhwh” in Lachish 2:2 is “1.002.2”).

Hebrew epigraphy not being an exact science, the prospective user of this volume may wonder what criteria were used for deciding on the text to be included here and on possible other readings. These criteria are given on p. xiii: “Our general policy has been to follow . . . the majority view and to include as variants only those alternative readings which have strong support.” (One should carefully note that “variants” here denotes only “alternative readings”; these texts are, of course, autographs, with no handed-down text like that of the Bible with its variant readings.) The choices made here are judicious, though not unopen to criticism: one wonders, for example, why the epigraphically possible though contextually implausible alternative reading “*rzm*” is indicated for Lachish 3:5 <sup>2</sup>zn (cf. my comments on the reading “<sup>2</sup>zn” in *JNES* 49 [1990]: 89,93).

It can be said in conclusion that this volume will be a handy tool for those who need for one reason or another to consult the data available in pre-Dead Sea Scrolls epigraphic Hebrew, though the absence of translations will limit its use to those whose level of Hebrew allows them to work without a “pony.” Moreover, the fact that the bibliographies are quite brief means that the volume cannot be used as a resource for sounding previous scholarship on a given text.

DENNIS PARDEE

*The University of Chicago*

---

*The Rise of Ancient Israel.* By HERSEL SHANKS, WILLIAM G. DEVER, BARUCH HALPERN, and P. KYLE MCCARTER, JR. Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1992. Pp. ix + 166 + 4 pls. \$18.95.

This book consists mainly of transcripts from a symposium on critical issues in the early history of Israel held in 1991 in Washington, D.C., under the auspices of the Biblical Archaeology Society. The speakers at the conference were Hershel Shanks, addressing the topic, “Defining

the Problems: Where We Are in the Debate"; William G. Dever, "How to Tell an Israelite from a Canaanite"; Baruch Halpern, "The Exodus from Egypt: Myth or Reality?"; P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., "The Origins of Israelite Religion"; and a final panel discussion. In addition to the transcripts, the book also includes brief responses to Dever's paper by three scholars who were not present at the symposium but whose ideas were nonetheless the subject of portions of Dever's talk: Israel Finkelstein, Norman Gottwald, and Adam Zertal.

Shanks's talk begins with a basic overview of the biblical account of Israel's appearance in Canaan. He then presents, in very general terms, some of the literary, archaeological, and chronological inconsistencies that have led most scholars to reject the literal historicity of the biblical account. Shanks states that three basic models have been proposed to account for the appearance of Israel in Canaan: the conquest model, peaceful infiltration model, and peasant revolt model. He describes the principal factors that led to the development of each of these models and some of the personalities behind them. He then discusses what he believes to be the current state of affairs in the study of the rise of Israel, which he describes as a "period of synthesis and variation." According to Shanks, there is now no clear consensus on the appearance of Israel in Canaan, a claim that he bolsters with several examples of differing viewpoints from the pages of the journal he edits, the *Biblical Archaeology Review*.

Following Shanks's presentation, Dever addresses the topic of the appearance of Israel in Canaan. He explicitly states his methodological biases at the beginning of his presentation: to him, biblical literature is of little use in reconstructing the early history of Israel because of its theological *Tendenz*. Archaeological data are free from such a bias—until, as Dever parenthetically admits, the archaeologist interprets the data in light of his or her own biases.

On the basis of his archaeological data, Dever argues that the Israelites of the central highlands of Palestine were practically indistinguishable from lowland Canaanites. He states that the material culture of the two groups is the same; it is only the relative frequency of certain pottery forms and housing styles that distinguish them. (This assertion is later challenged by Israel

Finkelstein in his response and by Baruch Halpern in his own paper.) Dever attributes these distinctions not to ethnic differences, but rather to adaptations that the Israelites made when they moved into the central hill country. Because he believes that the Canaanites and the Israelites were ethnically the same, Dever gives qualified assent to Mendenhall's "peasant uprising" model of the emergence of Israel in Canaan. The full development of certain recently invented technologies, such as cisterns and terrace-farming, facilitated the settlement of a certain group of Canaanites—the Israelites—in the central hill country. Dever is reluctant to venture an explanation as to why these particular Canaanites moved into the central hill country, but he suggests that religious differences (the Yahwism of the Israelites) may have been a major factor.

After the replies to Dever's lecture, Halpern addresses the issue of the nature of the Exodus narrative. Although he questions the general historicity of the story on the basis of its internal inconsistencies and apparent exaggerations, Halpern argues that there is a historical kernel underlying the narrative. Many details of the stories of Israel's sojourn in Egypt, such as the descent of Canaanites into Egypt in times of famine, the rise of Canaanites to positions of power in Egypt, the method of brick-making in Egypt, and even the names of the Patriarchs (especially Jacob, which appears on several scarabs as the name of at least one Hyksos king) reflect the condition of the relationship that existed between Egypt and Palestine during the Amarna period. Nonetheless, Halpern does not conclude that these details prove the historicity of the Exodus story—it would be "unthinkable," he states, for a group of any great size to leave Egypt and wander in the wilderness for any length of time. Instead, he proposes a rather creative theory of his own. In Halpern's reconstruction, a small group of Yahwistic pastoralists journeyed down to Egypt, where they remained long enough to learn about the Hyksos, and even to come to identify themselves as the descendants of the Hyksos king Jacob. These pastoralists left Egypt when they were conscripted to work on Egyptian building projects. Traveling then to the Transjordanian region, these pastoralists came into contact with the Aramean peoples who had migrated to that area. One group of these



Arameans, whom Halpern identifies as the early Israelites (rejecting Dever's identification of the early Israelites as Canaanite), adopted the pastoralists' escape story as their own national epic.

McCarter then addresses the question of the origins of Israelite religion. He begins by explaining that the primary sources for the study of early Israelite religion are the most ancient Hebrew poems, both those found in the Bible and those found at the site of Kuntillet Ajrud. From these sources, McCarter concludes that the worship of Yahweh originated in the regions to the southeast of Israel, particularly in Midian. Since Yahwism then spread to the Israelites in Canaan, McCarter surmises that Yahwism must have arisen in the Late Bronze Age, when there existed "cultural continuity" between Midian and Canaan. He also argues that Yahwism was an important "boundary marker" for the Israelites, i.e., one of the features establishing their unique ethnic identity. Thus, Yahwistic religion and the nation Israel developed together.

McCarter also offers his own explanation for the appearance of Israel in the central highlands. He claims that the mention of Israel in the Merneptah Stele actually dates *before* the burgeoning population growth of the central highlands that is identified with the rise of Israel (a claim open to challenge, given the relative imprecision of the archaeological dating of the highland settlements). From this observation, he concludes that Israelites were present in the lowlands of Canaan before a different group of people moved into the central highlands. The newcomers came to identify with these lowland Israelites. Thus, the three speakers manage completely to obscure the question of Israelite origins: Dever claims they came from within Canaan, Halpern claims they came from outside Canaan, and McCarter seems to claim that they came from both inside and outside of Canaan.

Since this book began as a symposium for the layman, it does not include the kind of technical information that specialists in this area of study would hope to find. With the exception of Halpern's presentation, the papers contain a few footnotes, and all of the presentations contain undocumented references and generalizations. The lack of a supplementary bibliography, too, is a serious shortcoming for the specialist, or for anyone with a deep interest in this subject. The

nonspecialist, however—whether scholar or layman—will find this book a readable entrée into the current status of the debate on Israelite origins. The presenters are indeed among the leading scholars in the field. Their frequent disagreements (as well as occasional agreements) bear witness to the extensive controversy surrounding the shadowy formative era of Israelite history.

ANTHONY J. TOMASINO

*The University of Chicago*

*Under Every Green Tree: Popular Religion in Sixth-Century Judah.* By SUSAN ACKERMAN. Harvard Semitic Monographs, vol. 46. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992. Pp. xiv + 272. \$35.95.

The monograph is a minor revision of the author's 1987 Harvard dissertation submitted to the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations. After defining popular religion as religion that was not endorsed by the Deuteronomistic School, the priests, or the prophets, Ackerman seeks to describe such religion in the sixth century B.C.E., a time she has selected for its "almost unparalleled religious creativity" (p. 2). On a more practical level, this century represents a period in which many of the prophets whose names are associated with biblical books were believed to have lived, thus providing some sort of textual basis for her inquiry.

The author selects five texts for her study. After examining Jeremiah 7 and 44, she concludes that the Queen of Heaven is a syncretistic deity representing aspects of west Semitic Astarte and east Semitic Ištar. Ezekiel 8 is seen to refer to a cult of Asherah in the north city gate of Jerusalem, a room inside the casemate wall used for *marzēah* celebrations that were dedicated to a god other than Yahweh, the worship of Tammuz at the northern entrance of the temple's inner courtyard and inside the temple courtyard, the practice of an Aramean sun cult that combined elements of Mesopotamian Šamaš worship and native west Semitic traditions. Isaiah 57 is thought to allude to child sacrifice offered to Yahweh as a El-type god, libations used in necromancy, and a fertility cult also aimed at Yahweh. Finally, Isaiah 65 is seen to refer to the offering of

incense in *bāmôt* to Yahweh and his consort, Asherah, the practice of dream incubation, and the eating of swine's flesh in an unspecified cultic context.

As Harvard dissertations go, this one includes interaction with the work of many more "non-canonical" scholars than most and explores a subject whose ramifications counter the traditional views of the Cross school. Even so, its title betrays its mentor's beliefs: why is the adjective "popular" even included, since the subject is simply religion in sixth-century Judah? Ackerman's definition of "popular religion" itself is a charade: she does not use it in its more normative sense in contrast to "official religion," obviously realizing the uselessness of the normative meaning and our inability to draw such distinctions. So why even bother to perpetuate an empty distinction?

There is little new thought offered in the interpretation of the five passages examined. The bulk of the discussion is a presentation of past proposals with occasional evaluation. Even so, some of the tentative conclusions and underlying presumptions seem shaky. Why, for example, does the queen of heaven have to have astral associations (p. 10); is not her primary role that of spouse of the king of heaven? Do all deities who form part of the heavenly pantheon have astral associations? Why is Asherah never considered as a candidate for this title? Also in connection with Jeremiah 7, why does the author state that women were particularly associated with this cult (p. 11) when the text has the entire family gathering supplies for the worship? Why would Asherah be worshipped in the city gate? Is there any archaeological or textual evidence to support this? And why is the worship "under every green tree" connected with Yahweh in Isaiah 57 but the tree-connected worship in Isaiah 65 with Asherah? Why is the aniconic tradition archaic and probably Mosaic (p. 78); what about the depictions of Yahweh in synagogue floors or on a Persian coin from Yehud? What evidence would support the view that Asherah might have been a hypostatized female aspect of Yahweh (p. 215)? This suggestion undercuts Ackerman's other more solid recognitions that Asherah was an independent deity. What would indicate that the children being sacrificed in the "graves" in Isa. 57:5-6 are

being offered to Yahweh and are not part of some sort of chthonic cult?

Other shortcomings can be mentioned. There is no consideration of the tendentious nature of the masc. pl. form *ʾāšērīm*, and how it relates to the deliberate attempt to eliminate references to Asherah in the biblical texts. There is no consideration of the possibility that Biblical Hebrew may be a literary construct, explaining the "ungrammatical" *ʾšrtw* in the Quntillet ʿAjrud inscription. Ackerman does not offer even a tentative suggestion about the purpose of the pig sacrifices, other than arguing for their cultic nature; with what deity might they have been associated in the ancient Near East? She fails to comment on the appearance of a pig on one of the pithoi at Quntillet Ajrud in this connection. In discussing child sacrifice, she mixes a number of different types together and then concludes that this type of offering would have had only one life-setting, in the context of the worship of El or Yahweh. Children appear to have been sacrificed for a range of ends and probably then to a range of deities as well. The bibliography has been only marginally updated; there are twelve items from 1987, the year the dissertation was completed; beyond that there is only 1 item from 1988 and 2 from 1989. Conspicuously missing is any consideration of Robert Carroll's extensive work on Jeremiah or any reference to Robert Gnuse's 1984 book *The Dream Theophany of Samuel*.

Should you buy the book? If you are collecting studies on ancient Israelite religion for your personal library, yes; otherwise, check it out of the library for use in connection with the study of any of the five passages it examines.

DIANA EDELMAN

James Madison University  
Harrisonburg, Virginia

*A Time to Mourn, a Time to Dance: The Expression of Grief and Joy in Israelite Religion.* By GARY A. ANDERSON. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991. Pp. xvii + 139. \$28.50.

This slim volume purports to describe the behavioral mannerisms by which joy and mourning

were ritually performed in Israelite [*sic*] religion. Anderson begins by citing a select number of anthropologists who have dealt with the question of empirical research into human religious existence. With the recognition that liturgy and ritual are central to religious communities, the investigation of the minutest mannerisms of ritual behavior along with the relationship of those mannerisms with the rituals in which they occur, is currently an area of active inquiry in the anthropological study of religions. The author has decided to make a similar investigation of biblical injunctions to be joyful or to mourn with a view as to how these rituals induced emotion among the people of ancient Judah. Such an anthropological work as, for example, Sam Gill's impressive *Sacred Words* (Westport, Conn., 1981) requires a living population willing to allow intensive scrutiny of their sacred rites; Anderson has no such population and appears uninterested in the question of the minutiae of behavioral ritual. To an extent the impossibility of the endeavor is acknowledged by the author in the book itself, and the volume consists of a series of quotations and comments concerning joy and mourning primarily derived from the Tannaitic period.

Anderson assumes that the rabbis spoke authoritatively for a Judean religious world of three-quarters of a millennium prior to their existence. This assumption, upon which the entire thesis rests, is unlikely. Religious rituals change over time; the most conservative rites have been adapted through time and space, even when the community itself insists that nothing in the ritual has changed. The statement by the author that ritual practice is entirely conservative (p. 60) repeats a scholarly "pious fiction" from an earlier age of sociological studies concerning religion. Moreover, the author takes no account of the difference among Judean, pre-exilic, pantheon-oriented cult ritual; biblical, imaginative representations of that earlier religious world; the text-oriented world of the rabbis; and the editorial underpinning of the compilers of the Talmud, from which the majority of his data derive. For Anderson all these religious communities may be treated as a coherent unit since they form a temporal chain; such a method reflects no appreciation for religious evolution, reinterpretation, or

the vastly shifting sociopolitical milieu. Most of the data used are not accounts of the rituals the author wishes to describe, but interpretive justifications of traditions based on biblical texts. No historical anthropologist could take such material seriously as other than a reflection of the Tannaitic period, and even at that, a small, unrepresentative vision of theorists rather than descriptions of actual behavior.

To a large extent, this volume is a study of the use of the term *simḥah* (and its variants) in the Bible and the Talmud. Anderson correctly comments on the dangers of "overdefinition and semantic distortion" in doing such a word study but does not himself investigate all meanings of the term in order to formulate his conclusions concerning it. One needs to know what has been disallowed from the sources and why the author chose to dismiss variant meanings. Near the end of the work (p. 104) the author suddenly notes that "joyfully" sometimes really means "willingly," which would appear to be a rather important notion for the entire study, one which he has not investigated. It is a leap of faith, on his part, that the admonitions to be joyful ("make a joy") refer to concrete prescribed actions (which curiously do not include dancing, despite the title) rather than simply to engage in activities which tend to be pleasant: feasting, singing, dressing up in festal attire, anointing oneself with oil, or engaging in sex with someone who actually likes you. Nothing cited in this volume suggests that any of these activities were, in fact, ritualized into a certain set of movements rather than simply activities in which individual persons engaged when they were happy. This is not to say that they were neither commanded nor ritualized, only that there is a lack of data to support such a conclusion. The author is certainly correct that the throwing of feasts, and the singing of hymns were used to motivate people to be joyful on certain days when the calendar suggested rejoicing. It is not surprising that the reverse would constitute the behavior of mourning on those days when one was supposed to mourn. Anderson has set out the reverse parallels for mourning and rejoicing; however, nothing in the list suggests anything more than linguistic contrasts. He has not demonstrated any form of "structuralist" opposition which would define



deep social ordering principles in the society, only a series of terms with opposite meanings.

As for the study of the Torah being a behavior of joy, a reference to the Book of Baruch or the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach would help demonstrate that the notion was not something which the rabbis invented themselves. Anderson's book does not substantiate the reading of Torah as a commanded ritual act even for the period of Tannaitic scholarship, let alone the biblical period (his citations display rabbis legitimating their holding study sessions on days when the Torah clearly says they should be doing something else). The sparsity of references to early Jewish literature outside the rabbinic corpus (Judith is an exception) is curious, given the author's use of medieval Jewish commentaries as sources for understanding rituals of night unto two millennia in their past.

In sum, it would have to be concluded that the volume does not really provide much anthropological insight into the religious or ritual life of the nation of Judah. However, the volume is a good source of citations on what "joy" meant to the rabbis, as recorded in the Talmud, and the debates of first millennium Jewish exegesis about what was not proscribed and prescribed in Torah. For those interested in the exegesis of biblical commands to mourn or rejoice, this volume will provide a fine preface to further study.

LOWELL K. HANDY

Loyola University of Chicago

*The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East.*

Edited by JOHN G. GAMMIE and LEO G. PERDUE. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1990. Pp. xiv + 545. \$42.50.

Few subjects in ancient Near Eastern studies are as vast as that of wisdom literature; virtually every people in the region had its own didactic tradition and celebrated sages. It is, therefore, no wonder that the book under review is a rather massive tome. *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* consists of thirty-six essays on the sage and on related aspects of wisdom literature. There are six general divisions: (1) The Sage in Ancient Near Eastern Literature; (2) The Social Locations and Functions of the Sage; (3)

The Sage in the Wisdom Literature of the Hebrew Bible; (4) The Sage in Other Biblical Texts; (5) The Sage from before the Close of the Hebrew Canon to Post-biblical Times; and (6) The Symbolic Universe of the Sage. In view of the book's size, it is fortunate that the volume has been well organized and edited; numerous indexes and bibliographies increase its value as a reference work. Naturally enough, the level of readability of the individual essays varies considerably. For the most part, however, the contributions are concise and well focused. The editors are to be commended for their attempt at completeness. It is particularly useful, for example, to have in addition to the virtually mandatory articles on Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Ugarit, a fine discussion by James Russell of "The Sage in Ancient Iranian Literature" (pp. 81–92). Other valuable essays summarize the role of the sage in Hellenistic philosophical literature (pp. 319–28) and in classical romance and comedy (pp. 329–41). Rivkah Harris's analysis of "The Female 'Sage' in Mesopotamian Literature (with an appendix on Egypt)" also raises some intriguing questions (pp. 3–17); that is a subject deserving further study. As might be expected, most of the contributors are biblical scholars, and the majority of the essays consequently deal with wisdom in the biblical tradition; among those topics, I would single out as exceptionally interesting the discussion of the sage in the Qumran material on pp. 373–82. For the essays on ancient Near Eastern literatures, the editors have enlisted the expert aid of well-known Orientalists such as Ronald Williams, Samuel Noah Kramer, Ronald Sweet, and the aforementioned Rivkah Harris.

Even if one must be careful of asserting too readily the dependence of, say, a biblical text on an Egyptian wisdom composition (or vice-versa),<sup>1</sup> there is certainly no denying that wisdom literature in the various traditions displays common characteristics. This is hardly surprising, since the aim of this literary genre is basically the same throughout the Near East: to inculcate the reader with the ideals of the respective society in which it was created and to explore the

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the review by H. Thissen (*Enchoria* 14 [1986]: 199–201) of Jack Sanders, *Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom*, Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 28 (Chico, California, 1983).

ambiguity or contradictions of human existence. Kramer's statement that Sumerian wisdom literature was intended to help readers "apprehend and comprehend the ambiguous, ambivalent nature of the human condition, and the rather bitter irony of fate"<sup>2</sup> is perfectly applicable as well to the demotic Egyptian Papyrus Insinger, a composition of Ptolemaic or Roman period date. So too, the role of the sage or learned scribe is similar in many different cultures, and the essay of André Lemaire "The Sage in School and Temple" (pp. 165–81) is a welcome overview on this subject.

A few significant bibliographic items appeared after R. Williams's excellent contributions on the sage in ancient Egypt (pp. 19–30; pp. 95–98) had already gone to press. The recently published Papyrus Vandier, a very important Late Period literary text, vividly depicts how the court scholars unsuccessfully conspire to prevent Pharaoh from learning of the existence of a particularly learned scribe.<sup>3</sup> That man alone is able to advise Pharaoh on the means to avoid otherwise certain death, though the sage himself must descend to the Netherworld in his stead. Another newly published Late Period work, the Brooklyn Wisdom Papyrus, also mentions the wise man, the good servant apparently being described thus: (4/3–4) "[He is] the best of the wise men . . . He is like Sia" (The personification of Understanding).<sup>4</sup> Among other recent works on Egyptian wisdom, I would especially recommend H.-J. Thissen's introduction to his edition of Onkhsheshonqy, noting particularly his attempt to distinguish the precise meanings of the two common words for "teaching/instruction" (*mtry.t* and *sb3y.t*), *Die Lehre des Anchschesonqi* (P. BM 10508), *Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 32 (Bonn, 1984), pp. 1–13.<sup>5</sup>

One important function of a book such as this is that it enables workers in one specialty to ascertain easily what sort of research is being

done in related fields and to learn something of the unique problems and pitfalls of each. This should, in turn, encourage a more critical use of material from outside one's own specialty. Scholars perusing this volume may also discover new approaches applicable to their own corpora, since different questions are asked and different methods utilized within the various fields of study. Wisdom literature has indeed been well served in recent years by such contributions as M. Lichtheim, *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context: A Study of Demotic Instructions*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 52 (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1983), and M. Küchler, *Frühjüdische Weisheitstraditionen*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 26 (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1979). *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* is also a useful tool for those concerned with ancient wisdom literature and will surely be a positive stimulus for future research.

RICHARD JASNOW

*The Johns Hopkins University*

*Concordance des Textes de Nag Hammadi: Le Codex VII.* By RÉGINE CHARRON. Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi, Section «Concordances», 1. Sainte-Foy and Louvain: Les Presses de l'Université Laval and Editions Peeters, 1992. Pp. xiv + 785. \$65 (Canadian).

*Concordance des Textes de Nag Hammadi: Le Codex VI.* By PIERRE CHERIX. Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi, Section «Concordances», 2. Sainte-Foy and Louvain: Les Presses de l'Université Laval and Editions Peeters, 1993. Pp. xi + 495. \$49 (Canadian).

The Coptic texts from Nag Hammadi—thirteen papyrus codices containing over forty different tractates—are probably the most widely known and most extensively studied of all Coptic texts. Because of the great interest in the Nag Hammadi codices, they are also, undoubtedly, the most thoroughly published Coptic texts. In addition to the photographic facsimile edition, the individual tractates are available in a number of text editions and translations. Among the finest editions of the Nag Hammadi texts are those published by the Université Laval in its series

<sup>2</sup> *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> G. Posener, *Le Papyrus Vandier*, Bibliothèque générale 7 (Cairo, 1985).

<sup>4</sup> R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text* (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135), *SAOC* 52 (Chicago, 1992).

<sup>5</sup> See also the remarks of M. Smith in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 6 (Wiesbaden, 1986), cols. 1192–1204 ("Weisheit, demotische").

"Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi, Section «Textes»,” which include reliable transcriptions, elegant translations, and extensive commentaries. Additional research on the Nag Hammadi texts appears in the “Section «Etudes»” of the same series. To supplement these volumes, the Université Laval group has inaugurated a new series of publications on the Nag Hammadi codices: concordances of the Coptic texts. The present volumes are the first of these: concordances of Nag Hammadi Codices VII and VI.

Codex VII contains five of the most significant of the Nag Hammadi texts: the *Paraphrase of Shem*, the *Second Treatise of the Great Seth*, the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the *Teachings of Silvanos*, and the *Three Stelae of Seth*. These compositions are of great importance for the study of gnosticism and early Christianity, each having already been translated and commented on by several scholars. Given the importance of the texts and the good state of preservation of the codex, it is not surprising that the Laval group chose Codex VII for its first concordance. Codex VI is less well preserved but no less interesting or important than Codex VII, containing a number of mostly nongnostic writings: the *Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles*, *Thunder, Perfect Mind*, the *Authoritative Teaching*, *The Concept of Our Great Power*, a Coptic translation of a section from Plato's *Republic*, a Hermetic writing on the Ogdoad and Ennead, a short Hermetic prayer, a scribal notice, and a Coptic translation of the Hermetic tractate *Perfect Teaching* (also known as the *Asclepius*).

The concordances were compiled from an electronic version of Codices VII and VI to show the context of the words in the text. Both included every occurrence of every word and every grammatical form from the respective codices, giving the works a completeness lacking in some earlier concordances of Coptic texts (most notably the Lefort/Wilmet concordance of the Sahidic New Testament). Greek and Coptic words are placed in separate sections; there are also sections for proper names, magical words, and numbers. Due to the vagaries of the program used to compile the Codex VII, stroking and diacritical marks are not reproduced in the words or the contexts given in the entries. This has subsequently been rectified, so that the entries in the Codex VI volume contain

an approximation of the diacritics of the original. The arrangement and layout of both concordances are clear and logical: words, forms, and citations are immediately apparent.

Following the concordance proper in each volume, the editors provide full, consecutive texts of the codices on which the concordance was based. This text was obtained through a collation of the facsimile edition of the codex and comparison of the published editions of the individual compositions, resulting in extremely reliable transcriptions that will doubtless become standard texts for the codices. (For Codex VII, a convenient list of instances in which the Charron text differs from the codex or the published editions is given on pp. 8–14). These consecutive texts include all the punctuation and diacritical marks in the original codices, enabling the user to check the unmarked words and contexts in the concordance. Both volumes conclude with a complete index of word forms and the headwords under which they are classified.

The format of the books is both attractive and practical; it has obviously been designed with great care for the needs of its potential users. Both volumes will be of enormous value to those who study the Nag Hammadi texts, and both are a valuable contribution to Coptic studies in general. The preface announces forthcoming volumes in the series to include concordances of Nag Hammadi Codices I, II, and V; given the quality of the present concordance, we can only await these volumes with impatience. The editors, Régine Charron and Pierre Cherix, along with everyone else connected with the publication of these books, should be congratulated on truly excellent and useful reference works.

TERRY G. WILFONG

University of Michigan

*Les divins chats de l'Egypte: Un air subtil, un dangereux parfum.* Edited by LUC DELVAUX and EUGÈNE WARMENBOL. Leuven: Peeters, 1991. Pp. ix + 185 + 73 figs. 1,200 Belgian francs.

This volume was issued in conjunction with the 1989–90 exhibit “Les Chats des Pharaons,” at the Institut Royal des Sciences Naturelles,



Brussels. It contains twenty brief articles dealing with diverse topics including the domestication of cats, the historiography of felines in Egyptological literature of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries A.D., representations of cats in private tombs, the role of felines in funerary literature and in fables, the cult of Bastet, aspects of the nature of cats and lions, bronze cat statues, and cat mummies. Five of the essays appeared previously in the exhibit catalogue *Les chats des pharons*, edited by Daniel Cahen (Brussels, 1989). Most of the essays are summaries of previous research or compendiums of references to cats and lions.

Some of the entries do have special interest. For example, in "Les félins à la guerre," Eric van Essche discusses the contradictory role of the lion. Not only is the lion associated with the power of the king, but he is also hunted by the king. Van Essche concludes that the roles can be reconciled by the lion's dual nature (domesticated and savage). E. Warmenbol and F. Doyen's "Le chat et la maîtresse: Les visages multiples d'Hathor" (pp. 55-67) discusses the iconography of the motifs of a cat under a chair and of a cat in the lunette of a doorway. The discussion of a cat under the chair gets somewhat muddled with reference to the "code érotique" implied in scenes of cat-geese, although certainly the iconography, especially as elaborated upon on the chair of Satamun, does by itself, clearly suggest Hathoric symbolism. In another essay, van Essche relates the satirical scenes of cats and domineering mice to the balance of order and disorder in the Egyptian universe.

This collection of essays breaks no great new Egyptological ground. People with a more general interest in cats in antiquity, however, will certainly discover new aspects of felines in the volume.

EMILY TEETER

*The University of Chicago*

---

*Through Time, across Continents: A Hundred Years of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University Museum.* By DILYS PEGLER WINEGRAD. Philadelphia: The University Museum. Pp. xviii + 226 + 151 figs. + 12 pls. \$80.

This volume, published to celebrate the centenary of the University Museum, is intended,

as it states explicitly, for an "interested but non-expert audience." The first chapter, "At Home and in the Field: The Museum's History Begins at Sumer," gives the background of founding the museum and of the university's first expedition, the Babylonian Expedition, made possible by a corporation formed in 1888. It describes the role of Provost William Pepper in relation to the expedition. The author is more candid about Hermann Hilprecht and his personal collection of cuneiform tablets from the expedition at Nippur than one might expect, though she does not point out that he took for his own collection some of the rarest and most important of the tablets discovered. A subchapter describes the tablet collection, its importance for Sumerian literature, and the Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary Project that has so far published three volumes. Both the account of the Babylonian Expedition and the Joint Expedition to Ur (with the British Museum) are enlivened by dramatic photographs of the excavations in progress.

The second chapter gives an account of the formation of the Egyptian collection and the extraordinary individuals who had a role in it. The third chapter, "In Search of Myth and History: The Classical World and the Mediterranean" includes work on Crete and the spectacular finds at Gordion in Turkey, including the intact tomb of a Phrygian king, quite possibly King Midas. "From Gordion to Gibeon: Biblical Archaeology" focuses on James B. Pritchard's excavations at Gibeon. Further chapters give accounts of the Museum's work in the Far East and in North America and South and Central America.

Other excavations are reported on in another section of the book called "Three Administrations in Two Decades: Depression, War, and Recovery." Here the author treads more delicately in describing goals, achievements—and sometimes controversies—for many of the people involved are living. Other chapters and sections report on Robert Dyson's work at Hasanlu in Iran, on science in archaeology, and on the use of computers; there is also a section called "The New Morality: Changes in Acquisitions Policy."

The book is generally well written in a lively way. While it focuses on a particular museum, it illustrates very well the changes that have affected all similar institutions and the fields of archaeology and anthropology over the past cen-

tury. The many illustrations—both of sites and of people—from the University Museum's archives greatly enhance the interest of the volume. It must be said that the volume is a very awkward size and not easy to hold for reading. In a bit of chauvinism which I find annoying as well as typographically ugly, the museum is called throughout "The [with capital T] University Museum"; for other institutions, such as the famous museum in London, standard practice is followed and they get a lower case article. We salute the University Museum on its centenary and wish it well as it begins a new phase with a new director.

ROBERT D. BIGGS

*The University of Chicago*

*Vows in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East.* By TONY W. CARTLEDGE. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement*, vol. 147. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992. Pp. 221. \$50.

Cartledge's volume on vows in the ancient Near East is a revised dissertation, written for Duke University, dealing with one particular formulation within ancient Semitic syntax as well as the use of that literary formula within poetic and narrative contexts. The thesis is simply stated: there was a standard form for vows in the ancient Near East and these phrases were understood as the most serious statements made by an individual, by which the petitioner promised some action on behalf of a deity if the deity performed some stated benefit for the speaker. As with most books derived from dissertations, a sizable portion of the volume is devoted to defining the project and discussing the history of research. A survey of ancient Near Eastern examples is provided as background to the investigation of biblical citations. When the author discusses the five examples of vows appearing in the Massoretic narrative text, both vocabulary and context for each item are examined.

The first chapter distinguishes between "vows" and "oaths," mostly by referring to standard American reference works (one has a little trepidation about a volume which early on [p. 14] insists that Webster's is "the most commonly

cited modern English dictionary" and that Cassell's serves for "German dictionaries" when one is aware of Oxford and Grimm). Nevertheless, it is certain that a distinction can be made between promises which have a conditional clause within them and those which do not; whether any larger distinction was made in the ancient Near East than is currently in modern English (Cartledge admits "oath" and "vow" have taken on the same meaning in common usage) is hard to determine from the extant data. The author restricts the translation "vow" to words from the Hebrew root *ndr*; the term is used for statements made to a deity with a conditional clause reserving fulfillment of the speaker's promise to such time as the deity completes the action requested.

The second chapter reviews the history of scholarship on the notion of "vow" in the Hebrew Bible. The work of Adolf Wendel is favorably presented as the most important research prior to this dissertation. There is a strange emphasis on Bible dictionaries and encyclopedias with headings entitled: "Vows." A lack of distinction between "oath" and "vow" is found to be a standard feature of these reference works; however, the notion, often stated in these works, that there were positive and negative vows is dismissed by the author. What one finds surprisingly missing in this survey is any reference to Hebrew grammars or volumes dealing with Hebrew syntax; this would appear to be a major oversight as the relevant syntax is dealt with in such reference tools.

The lengthy third chapter provides an overview of select vows from texts recovered from Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia. Since the study does not delve deeply into the exact vocabulary or syntax of these nonbiblical vows, it is not a vast problem that the author depends on secondary collections of texts, often in translation, for the examples cited. Similar statements were clearly made throughout the various cultures of the ancient world. Among the conclusions in this section are that vows were widely used in the ancient world, they were made almost exclusively to deities, they had to be fulfilled immediately after the performance of the divine action, and that they were public acts. It is also noted that many of the vows which have survived appear in inscriptions established to honor a deity.

The fourth and fifth chapters survey the appearance of vows in the Hebrew Bible. A standard formulation for the Hebrew vow is proposed, but it is acknowledged that not all of the few vows which are extant conform to the structure. This allows one to speculate that this may not have been an established syntactical form. A central contribution of the volume is the author's insistence that vows form the basic structure of a number of psalms. A variety of poetic forms are shown to convey the basic features of the content of a "vow." The final chapter deals with the manner in which the biblical authors use vows within the context of narrative. It is concluded that the vows serve both as plot devices and as characterizations of the persons making the vow. These observations are basically correct; at the same time, the individual interpretations of the passages and the meanings within their wider narratives appear to be too facily derived, without serious consideration of the variety of readings currently proposed. This, however, is not the central purpose of the book, while the seriousness with which vows should be taken in the literature is certainly an accurate observation which merits having been stressed.

For those advanced in Hebrew grammar and syntax, the volume offers little in the way of new insight; however, the book will make an easy to read introduction to the whole question of "vows" in the ancient Near East as well as supplying a ready reference to the relevant texts for those beginning their studies. Although highly overpriced, if it should appear as an affordable paperback, it would do nicely as a supplementary text in courses dealing with literature parallel to the Bible.

LOWELL K. HANDY

Loyola University of Chicago

---

*Iḥidayutha: A Study of the Life of Singleness in the Syrian Orient, from Ignatius of Antioch to Chalcedon 451 A.D.* By SHAFIQ ABOUZAYD. ARAM Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies Series A-93-1. Oxford: ARAM Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies, 1993. Pp. xx + 449. \$40.

The development of asceticism in early Christianity has become an increasingly popular field

of study, and the approaches to the subject are diverse. Most work on asceticism is based on the Greek and Latin works by and about the desert monks of Egypt and Syria. Much less attention has been focused on the sources in the native languages of these regions. Although Coptic texts are more frequently, in recent years, treated as important sources, Syriac texts are rarely used outside the small group of Syriac specialists. This is unfortunate, as these sources show a uniquely Syrian form of ascetic monasticism in contrast to the better-known traditions. The present book examines aspects of Syrian ascetic spirituality primarily from Syriac sources; it is an interesting book but also something of a disappointment.

Rather than focus on asceticism as such, the author concentrates on "singleness"—his translation of the Syriac term *iḥidayutha*, which encompasses asceticism but also includes the concept of "oneness with God" and does not necessarily involve formal monasticism. Most of the book is a discussion of the "Life of Singleness" from the early Syrian fathers, the *Demonstrations* of the fourth-century Aprahat (Apraates) and pre-Chalcedonian monastic writers. The author discusses the development, motivations, and manifestations of *iḥidayutha*, concentrating on their relationship to Syrian Christian spirituality. He traces *iḥidayutha* from its roots in biblical and early Christian writings through its embodiment in the *Bnay* and *Bnat Qyama*, nonmonastic ascetic groups founded by Apraates, and on to its codification in early Syrian monasticism. The author concludes by relating these to later Syrian monasticism and (rather unconvincingly) to possible ancient Mesopotamian antecedents. The book concludes with a useful appendix "Who are they?," a summary of the lives of the early Syrian monastic figures mentioned in the book.

The actual discussion of "singleness" in Syrian Christianity takes up a surprisingly small space in this book. Most of the work is taken up by anecdotes and description of ascetic practices. Throughout, the author emphasizes two things: that Syrian Christianity developed without much outside influence and that asceticism was a natural development of this Syrian Christianity rather than an extreme divergence. Neither point is particularly controversial, and the space devoted to them would have been better used for a more focused and critical discussion of the concept of



*ihidayutha* itself. In spite of the accounts of the Syrian ascetics, the author does not give a clear definition of the term. Nor does he relate his ideas on the subject to the fairly large body of recent scholarship on asceticism, other than to take issue with specific historical points.

Part of the problem is in the presentation. For much of the book, the author has the Syriac sources speak for themselves: translated phrases, sentences, and whole passages are interwoven throughout, set off from the author's own writing by italicization. Although it is useful to have the sources given in such detail, the texts are not given much of a context, nor are they treated critically. The long quotation of Apraates on pp. 59–66, for example, is given as fact about the ascetic groups he founded, without any further analysis or discussion. Snippets of text are sometimes taken out of context; the aforementioned section of Apraates is actually made up of selections from various parts of his writings, but the presentation makes it look like a continuous composition. The end result is a sometimes confusing mixture of quotation and original writing. The lack of an index of texts cited makes the translated passages difficult to locate in the book, limiting its secondary usefulness.

The relationship of "singleness" to issues of virginity, marriage, celibacy, and sexuality is stated to be a major point of the book. Unfortunately, the author's discussion is marred by a conspicuous lack of reference to modern scholarly literature of these topics. Works such as Peter Brown's *Body and Society* are cited in the bibliography but do not inform the text of the book itself. The result is an exceedingly simplistic treatment of the subject—largely a summary of selected Syriac sources—that is, moreover, often highly judgmental. The book often reads as though the author himself is condemning specific behavior rather than writing about the early Syrian writers' opinions. This impression is partly caused by the AbouZayd's casual use of highly charged terms he has translated from the Syriac (e.g., "filthy intercourse"). The author's vision of Syriac sexuality is curiously limited; only women, for example, are sources of temptation to monks in the author's vision of Syrian asceticism, despite the frequent references to the temptations also posed to monks by boys and young men in, among others, Theodoret of

Cyrrhus (*h. rel.* 21.23, 28). Likewise, issues of women's sexuality are largely ignored.

Like so many other books on early Christianity, *Ihidayutha* is a selective summary of biblical and patristic sources with little attempt at analysis. Had this volume been issued by some religious publisher as a devotional exercise, this would not be a problem; its presentation as a scholarly book, however, forces the reviewer to apply the same standards as one would to any other work of scholarship. Viewed in this light, *Ihidayutha* fails to treat its sources critically and fails to relate its argument to recent scholarship on the subject. Taken as a survey of early Syrian ascetic literature, it could be a useful guide to those interested in asceticism and monasticism in Syria, but it is not nearly as thorough as other already extant works on the subject. To those interested to the relations between asceticism and the history of the body and sexuality, this book will be a particular disappointment, especially because the Syrian sources are so rich and potentially interesting for these subjects. One of the virtues of *Ihidayutha*, however, is that it draws attention to a number of neglected Syriac sources and could be a beginning for a critical study in the future.

TERRY G. WILFONG

*University of Michigan*

---

*La vocalisation de la langue égyptienne, tome 1<sup>er</sup>: La phonétique.* By WERNER VYICHL. Bibliothèque d'Etude, Tome XVI. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1990. Pp. xi + 260.

The vocalization of ancient Egyptian has been the subject of speculation since the initial decipherment of the language, the inherent problems in determining the vocalization of any dead language rendered more complicated by the non-indication of vowels in most phases of Egyptian. Much of the work on the subject is based on Coptic, the only phase of Egyptian to regularly indicate vowels. Egyptian words transcribed into other ancient languages (such as Greek or Akkadian) and parallels with other African and Asiatic languages have also played an important part in this study. The problem is difficult to resolve,

partly because of the incomplete and scattered nature of the evidence and the enormous range of knowledge required to control it. Unlike the situation with ancient Semitic languages, where vocalization of texts is routinely used to show underlying grammatical interpretation, the study of the vocalization of Egyptian is generally left to a small number of specialized scholars. The author of the present volume has written extensively on the relationships of Egyptian to Coptic and to African and Semitic languages; he would seem an ideal candidate to write a full-scale treatment of the vocalization of Egyptian. Unfortunately, the book under review is not a promising beginning to such a work.

The author begins what is to be a multipartite study of the vocalization of Egyptian with the present volume on phonetics: this first part does not give any indication of the number, contents, or anticipated publication dates of future volumes. This study starts with an extensive overview of the history of Egyptian and examines the language in its Afro-Asiatic context. This is a prelude to the discussion of how various Egyptian consonants, vowels, and, therefore, words were pronounced based on contemporary transcriptions into other languages, parallels in various languages, and the vocalization of Coptic forms of earlier Egyptian words. In his introduction, the author announces his departure from the earlier systems of Sethe and Steindorff for reconstructing Egyptian vocalization by combining the consonants of Egyptian words with the indicated vowels of their Coptic descendants. This is hardly a radical idea among Egyptologists today and gives an indication of both the lack of sophistication in the author's treatment of the subject and the major problem with this book: its age.

Aside from a very few references to publications from the 1980s in the first few sections, almost none of the cited publications in the body of the volume are from after 1972. This fact, combined with the publisher's colophon and the low series number, lead to the inevitable conclusion that this volume had been written by the early 1970s and that very few alterations were made to the manuscript in light of subsequent publications. Not surprisingly, this has a very unfortunate impact on the scholarly value of the book. The number of books and articles pub-

lished since the early 1970s with some relevance to the vocalization of Egyptian is very large. It would be impossible to provide a proper supplement to the bibliography in the space of this review, but one note is essential. The most glaring omission is the monumental work by Jürgen Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen* (Mainz, 1976); although this book is not primarily about vocalization, it contains an enormous amount of relevant (and well-documented) information. References to languages other than Egyptian are also out-of-date, especially in citations of cuneiform sources from superseded editions. The book is dated in a more general sense as well: nowhere does it contain any reference to modern linguistic theories of phonetics or phonology. Indeed, the use of "la phonétique" rather than "la phonologie" in the subtitle is a clue to the vague and antiquated approach to linguistics taken in the book. Although the author is not attempting (one hopes) to recreate the exact pronunciation of Egyptian, in linguistic terminology that is what his subtitle implies. This book is typical of earlier works on Egyptian that blithely ignored modern approaches to the study of language, a further indication of its age. The increasing number of Egyptologists who recognize the importance of linguistics in the study of Egyptian will find the book disappointing.

This book is frustrating to read for other reasons. The organizing principle behind it is unclear: successive chapters skip from subject to subject with no apparent reason. Digressions are often lengthy and unnecessary: for example, the listing of publications of Old Coptic texts on pp. 27–30 is, on the one hand, out of place and, on the other hand, incomplete. The lack of documentation for most of the examples is a problem, but even when sources are given, the citations are often vague and imprecise. The complicated typography of the book, which uses hieroglyphs along with Greek, Coptic, and Hebrew characters, makes typographical errors virtually inevitable, but a relatively large number of misprints occur in the French text as well. The lack of an index makes this book very difficult to use; presumably the final volume of the complete work will have a comprehensive index of words cited, but that future possibility is of little use now.

It is only fair to point out that the age of this book does not render it useless: it summarizes many of the author's important articles and covers the wide range of the results of his research. It also summarizes general theories of the vocalization of Egyptian from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Nevertheless, anyone using this book will have to find and refer constantly to more recent publications, a daunting and difficult task at best. Egyptologists are likely to recognize how out-of-date it is and treat it accordingly. Unfortunately, nonspecialists and scholars from other fields are likely to be unaware of more recent literature on the subject and may use this book uncritically.

TERRY G. WILFONG

University of Michigan

*Letters from Ancient Egypt.* Translated by EDWARD WENTE. Edited by EDMUND S. MELTZER. Society for Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World Series 1. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990. Pp. xii + 271. \$25.95 (cloth), \$16.95 (paperback).

The present work is a representative collection of ancient Egyptian letters translated for the benefit of non-Egyptologists and lay readers. The time span of the selection is from the Old Kingdom to the Twenty-first Dynasty, and with few exceptions only "genuine" letters are included. The translations are organized under twelve sections, each accompanied by a brief set of endnotes. Listings of sources, a bibliography, and a glossary of Egyptian terms complete the work.

Among Egyptologists, translations of pieces from the Egyptian very often raise hackles: few are satisfied, everyone can cavil over minutiae. Moreover, this has less to do with the type of translation preferred than basic philology and linguistics: even after the trumpetings of the post-structuralists, we are still not quite sure of syntax and lexicon, even in Late Egyptian! In the present case, however, few will be able to quibble, for Wente's translations are as accurate as is possible in the present state of our knowledge. In addition, he shows a most welcome sense of

idiom (all too often lacking in scholarly translations) and an ability to find the apt English phrase to catch a nuance. One can only regret that the restricted format of the work prevents the translator from supplying a slightly fuller commentary, from which the prospective readership would undoubtedly have profited.

A good deal of work has been done over the past generation in the field of epistolography, and we are now in a position to make intelligent comments on how letters were written and received. Letters, formalized, concise written pieces usually (although not always) from a single individual to another, were intended to convey information and/or instruction and to elicit a reaction on the part of the recipient. Egyptian had no single word for the form but depending on the practical intent of the exercise, might employ *šꜥt*, "piece," *whꜥ*, "inquiry, directive," *wsty*, "report," or even the colorless *mdꜣt* or *sꜥ*. In "official" circles, a secretary took the letter (at dictation) and read out the reply when it arrived. It is important to note that it was read aloud (*šꜥ*, *šꜥi*); "silent" reading was unknown. (Visual reading [p. 9] is, in my view, an unlikely rendering of *ptr*, the verb indicating simple cognizance). When translation was required, the writer urges the reading scribe to provide the most favorable rendering possible. Private letters, of course, presuppose that the recipient can read or at least avail himself of a confidant who can. Whether there was any category of "village" scribe catering to the needs of the illiterate is unknown: the vast majority of relevant scribal titles refers to the writing, dispatch, and filing of *official* letters. (The rate of literacy [of any type] is at present quite unknown in the absence of pertinent evidence—Wente's quoted source [bottom, p. 7] indulges in fantasy).

Possibly my main reservation is my sense that the criterion of selection used in the corpus is rather fuzzy and when once stated is not consistently applied. Besides the missives taken from life situations, which ought to comprise the whole of the body of material, the letter form was used in didactic and satirical compositions; but the intent, genre, thrust, and rhetoric in this type of literature are wholly different. Only the fiction of a correspondent at a distance is maintained. Yet Wente chooses to include examples



from some of these other genres, such as the Kemit-book and P.Anastasi I; others, such as P.Pushkin 127 or the lively exchange between Re and Osiris in P.Chester Beatty I, are excluded for reasons not immediately clear to me. (Can one imagine an anthology of twentieth century official and private correspondence including the *Screwtape Letters* or Ingraham's *Pillar of Fire* just because they were in epistolary form?)

Curiously, the Miscellanies are excluded on the grounds that Caminos, forty years ago, gave us a "felicitous" translation and also because it is difficult to separate "real" from "fictitious" letters! Wente's fine translation of the Late Ramesside Letters is thirty years old; yet selected letters from this corpus are included. Furthermore, the argument regarding "fictitious" letters did not prevent him from including Kemit and the Satyrical Letter. I think a close examination of the Miscellanies will show that almost all letters are for schoolroom use, but they are far closer to the real thing than the Kemit book, and their absence, to my mind, leaves a regrettable gap.

In some circles, it has become a fad for reviewers to set themselves up as guardians of the discipline, thereby to protect impressionable students and launch *ad hominem* attacks whenever it takes their fancy. Whether such arrogation is ever justified I do not know; it certainly is presumptuous and usually wrong-headed. In the case of the book under review it is also unnecessary. For Wente's translations are exceptionally clear and readable, and the range of the corpus sheds a flood of light onto the life and times of the ancient Egyptians. It has already found a firm place in my undergraduate and graduate reading lists as a thoroughly reliable and immensely informative source book.

DONALD REDFORD

University of Toronto

---

*Les chevaux du Nouvel Empire égyptien: Origines, races, harnachement.* By CATHERINE ROMMELAERE. Etude, no. 3. Paris: Connaissance de l'Egypte Ancienne, 1991. Pp. iv + 278 + 113 figs. + 8 pls.

Rommelaere's study of horses and their trappings consists of discussions of early evidence for

horses in Egypt and Near East, varieties of horses, their coats, the representation of their gait, and many aspects of horse trappings including chariots, bridles, reins, and whips. Other chapters deal with scenes of horseback riding from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasties, the association of horses with the gods, and representations of horses on vases. The balance of the volume is a catalogue of representations of horses restricted mainly to sources from the Eighteenth Dynasty (tombs and small objects) and Ramesside figured ostraca. Unfortunately, the catalogue lacks a concordance to museum collection numbers.

Considerable space is allotted to a review of the literature pertinent to the origins and variety of horses in Egypt. In summary, the author agrees with the traditional conclusion that horses were introduced into Egypt and Nubia during the Hyksos Period. A major feature of Rommelaere's thesis is that two types of horses were present in Egypt. The earliest representation, which appears on a scarab of Thutmose I, is the *longiligne* type, which is characterized by a slighter form and flatter, longer back. This variety is equated with the Akhal Teke horse of Turkmenistan. The second type, the *bréviligne*, which is first attested in private tombs contemporary with Thutmose III, replaced the representation of the *longiligne* and became the standard icon for horse in the Ramesside period. The author associates this second type with proto-Arab stock. It is a great kindness to readers that when technical terms of horse anatomy are used in the text, they are marked by an asterisk referring the reader to a glossary and diagram.

The chapters dealing with horse trappings include a detailed discussion of chariots and their component parts and a comparison of different types of bits and bridles. The author has restricted herself to representational and artifactual evidence, and thus there is no discussion of ancient terms for any of these objects.

Rommelaere's comments provide helpful parameters for assigning dates to representations of horses. For example, blinkers are never encountered before the reign of Amenhotep III, and the six-spoke chariot wheel is unknown before the time of Thutmose IV. Her typology of the plumes and ornaments which appear on horse heads, and the chronological table of this material, may likewise prove to be useful for as-

signing dates to scenes which incorporate these motifs.

This book is the most complete discussion available of horses and horse-related material in ancient Egypt. It is sure to serve the reference purposes of many different disciplines.

EMILY TEETER

*The University of Chicago*

*Building in Egypt: Pharaonic Stone Masonry.*

By DIETER ARNOLD. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991. Pp. 316 + figs. \$69.

This volume is a welcome update of Somers Clarke and R. Engelbach's classic 1930 work, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry: The Building Craft* (reissued in 1990 as *Ancient Egyptian Construction and Architecture*). The two works address quarrying, transport, foundations, roofing, and specific techniques. Arnold devotes sections of his book to additional topics of bosses, paving, corner construction, casing, construction gaps, and roofing, as well as to building activities, such as digging shafts, securing tombs, scaffolding, repairing damage, and cofferdam construction. Arnold's volume concludes with a section on tools and their application, an appendix on mortar and plaster, a glossary of technical terms, a chronology, bibliography, and index.

Arnold's book is based upon his own meticulous observations gathered in the course of his career excavating in Egypt. Although the majority of the examples are taken from Old and Middle Kingdom monuments, others are derived from New Kingdom and later structures. The book contains valuable comments about monuments which are not well published, such as the Bent Pyramid at Dashur, the Meidum pyramid, and the Persian shaft burials at Sakkara.

A major theme which recurs in this book is the importance of stone tools throughout Egyptian history. Arnold stresses that large stone pounders were never replaced by metal tools for quarrying, working and dressing hard stones (diorite, granite, and quartzite) (pp. 33, 36–37, 48) and that metal saws were "restricted to special and rare cases" (pp. 50, 43).

Other valuable comments about tools include the discussion of the use of wood for quarry work.

Arnold, more strongly than Clarke and Engelbach, disavows the use of wood wedges, inserted into mortice holes and wetted to fracture the stone. The main role of wood in stone work was the use of long levers to break large blocks of stone, which had been undercut from the quarry bed by pounding with stone balls (pp. 33, 39). His chapter on stone quarrying (pp. 27–52) is of particular interest and his tabulation of limestone and sandstone quarries and the diagrams of step quarry technique clearly illustrate his text.

Another theme which recurs in the book is the principle of the economy of labor and materials (pp. 148–151). This is expressed by the reuse of materials, by employing odd-shaped blocks to make use of every possible scrap of building material, and by casing inferior material with superior stone. It is this economy of resources that, according to Arnold, is responsible for the few examples of true ashlar masonry walls (p. 148) in Egypt.

His remarks on dressing of stone contain many valuable examples of stone-working that may be otherwise puzzling. The most important principle, which is related to the issue of economy of labor, is that most surfaces were dressed only after the overall construction was completed. This sequence of work is responsible for the not uncommon L-shaped blocks at the junction of walls, as well as the way in which paving tends to rise above the floor level to meet pillar bases (p. 146).

Arnold points out the ingenuity of the ancient Egyptian craftsman through the various ways in which a problem might be solved. For example, unlike Clarke and Engelbach, who proposed a general theory of how obelisks were erected, Arnold suggests that there may have been no single method, but rather that various methods were used, each selected to suit the particular situation. This same multiplicity of approaches is involved in his discussion of building ramps, in which context he states that the traces of ramps at various pyramids indicate that the ramps were customized to each project. (pp. 98–99), depending upon the terrain and the scale of the project.

There are some points which are confusing. In the discussion of the pulley, for example, Arnold states that the oldest true pulley dates to the Twelfth Dynasty, although he asserts that it was

used primarily to change the direction of pull (p. 71). It is unclear how this relates to Clarke and Engelbach who state that the pulley was unknown in ancient Egypt. So too, Arnold's comment regarding the relationship of architecture to cult is unclear. He states that the load-bearing walls in the burial chamber of Old Kingdom pyramids were cased in limestone because "the walls had to be inscribed with Pyramid Texts, which had to remain undamaged because of their magical value" (p. 174). This interpretation, however, seems to be contradicted by his later statement that "even the burial chambers of the Twelfth Dynasty that were never intended to be decorated were usually cased with limestone."

This book is full of interesting observations clearly illustrated by photos and line drawings. Among these points is Arnold's discussion of the function of grooves on the obelisk pedestals which were used as footholds to keep the monument from sliding across, and off, its base (p. 70); the use of caissons for digging shafts (pp. 211–12); methods of blocking subterranean chambers and shafts (pp. 218–31); and the impact of the introduction of limestone as a roofing material in the Twelfth Dynasty (pp. 183–84) which made it possible to span much wider aisles.

The many illustrations, stylish line drawings and concise text make this an excellent source for ancient Egyptian tools and stone-working.

EMILY TEETER

*The University of Chicago*

*The Anubieion at Saqqâra. Vol. 2. The Cemeteries.* By LISA L. GIDDY. Fifty-sixth Excavation Memoir. London: Egypt Excavation Society, 1992. Pp. xx + 103 + 7 figs + 81 pls. £75.

The Egypt Exploration Society, the Directors of the North Saqqâra Project, and, in particular, Lisa Giddy are to be commended for tackling a responsibility that many other institutions and their archaeologists have shirked in the past, the excavation and detailed publication of a Late Period Cemetery. Nonroyal cemeteries of this period tend to be large and haphazardly orga-

nized. The burials, often in poor states of preservation, have few grave goods even if the tombs survive undisturbed. Thus, many archaeologists choose to avoid these necropoleis or if they must excavate them, do so without attention to small details or a conscious commitment to study and publish their finds, especially the surviving skeletal material.

Giddy's *The Anubieion at Saqqâra*, vol. 2, *The Cemeteries* is a fine example of what a publication on an archaeological excavation should entail. The work is the second in a series of volumes designed to make available to scholars the results of survey and excavations undertaken in North Saqqâra between 1976 and 1979. The first volume was D. G. Jeffreys and H. S. Smith, *The Anubieion at Saqqâra*, vol. 1, *The Settlement and the Temple*, while two more volumes, J. Ray and E. Strouhal, *Anubieion*, vol. 3 (skeletal remains) and P. G. French, *Anubieion*, vol. 4 (ceramics), are planned. The goal of this large project was to locate a Late Period settlement whose contents could be compared with finds recovered from North Saqqâra's sacred animal necropolis (see Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society, vols. 50 and 53). The development of a detailed archaeological history of this section of the Memphite necropolis was also of primary importance, hence the decision to excavate the Late Period cemetery they discovered.

The volume has been organized chronologically so that chaps. 1 and 2 discuss the Old Kingdom through Third Intermediate Period material from Area 5. Chap. 1 outlines the architecture and the chronological interpretations of the finds, while Chap. 2 is a detailed register of the recovered artifacts. The excavations produced fragments of stone vessels and a few mud sealings of Early Dynastic date, while remnants of mastaba walls and relief testify to the Old Kingdom occupation. Very little Middle Kingdom material was recovered; five shaft tombs and two chapels probably represent the Ramesside Period of the New Kingdom. Also some objects, principally relief fragments and shabtis, belong to the New Kingdom. The Third Intermediate Period is represented by a reused New Kingdom(?) shaft tomb and shabtis.

The most substantial portion of the publication (chaps. 3, 4, 5, and essentially 7), however, is



devoted to the Late Period cemetery material. Giddy's detailed information on the construction and decoration of these insubstantially constructed coffins in chap. 3 is a notable addition to the literature. Pl. 34 provides a detailed plan of the Late Period cemetery, while the next figure, pl. 35, illustrates a matrix designed to place the burials relative to each other, thus presenting what vertical stratigraphy has survived. It will take patience, however, to correlate these two sets of data as the array of three-letter designations used to identify each burial is a bit overwhelming.

Chap. 6, a contribution by P. G. French, summarizes only the ceramic remains that are chronologically diagnostic, since a later volume (*Anubieion*, vol. 4) will publish the ceramics in more detail.

The quality of this publication is excellent, and clearly Giddy has expended great effort in recording the required archaeological information (provenience, measurements, color, description, etc.) for each object, data often partially or totally lacking in other publications. She has also cited comparative pieces elsewhere and has carefully cross-referenced objects, burials, and architecture throughout the volume. Many object drawings are illustrated, and those depicting the decoration on the Late Period coffins greatly enhance the data available from black and white photos. Overall, the photographs are very good, although details on some of the fragments of hieroglyphic inscriptions are difficult to discern. New photography may not have been possible, however, as the Egypt Antiquities Organization gave Giddy very limited access to objects during preparation of publication (p. xx).

Of particular interest to me were the types and distribution of the amulets found among the burials (pp. 42–43). Both the simple coffins and the predominance of amulets among the child burials parallel my observations of a Third Intermediate Period cemetery at Abydos. There, infants and young children also owned the amulets, with the Bes-image, Ptah-sokar, and the *wedjet*-eye the most common types.

Some chronological information can be gleaned from amulets found in Giddy's cemetery. For in-

stance, Claudia Müller-Winkler<sup>1</sup> probably would agree that most of *wedjet*-eye amulets from North Saqqâra belong to her group Dynasty XXVI. This category, however, immediately precedes the material she assigned to the Ptolemaic period and thus may well include material manufactured as late as Dynasty XXX. Also Müller-Winkler's work places openwork forms of the *wedjet*-eye, paralleled by 78/66 BOB and 78/285 BIL at North Saqqâra, in Dynasty XXV. The styles of several Bes-images from Area 5 also closely match pieces dated earlier than the first half of the fourth century B.C., the date proposed for this necropolis.<sup>2</sup> For example, the use of inlaid plumes on the crown of Bes-image 78/235 AAA is one of several features that place this object in Dynasty XXV, while 78/23 AQG, 78/84 AVW, and 78/122 AUQ all share characteristics with Bes-images dated elsewhere to Dynasty XXVI and no later. None of Giddy's Bes-image amulets, however, were *in situ*, although they were assigned to the strata in which the cemetery was located. These suggestions are not meant to invalidate Giddy's proposed date, but solely to support her stated goal of "further study of the objects themselves and comparison with more securely contextualized examples (p. 63)." It is only to Giddy's credit that the data available in *Anubieion*, vol. 2 permitted me to make these observations.

Future authors in this series might consider two small points that would make their upcoming publications on this site easier for readers to use. First, if a big site map is included, such as the one on pl. 1, brief labels identifying the excavated areas referred to in the text would be helpful. In the case of *Anubieion*, vol. 2, it was not always plain how the site plan correlated to the smaller ones detailing excavation areas. Second, it would be useful to have a brief section discussing the cataloging system used in the excavation. Such a treatment is present in the first volume on the site, *Anubieion*, vol. 1, but not everyone will have easy access to all the volumes at one time.

Archaeologica 5 (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1987), section D10, esp. pp. 131–71. See

<sup>2</sup> James F. Romano, "The Bes-image in Pharaonic Egypt" (Ph. D. diss., New York University, 1989, pp. 123–211).

<sup>1</sup> See Claudia Müller-Winkler, *Die ägyptischen Objekt-Amulette*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series

*Anubieion*, vol. 2 exemplifies what an archaeological field report should be, and Lisa Giddy has made a significant contribution to the field of Egyptian archaeology.

DIANA CRAIG PATCH

*The Metropolitan Museum of Art*  
New York

*The Architecture of Ancient Israel from the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods*. Edited by AHARON KEMPINSKI and RONNY REICH. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992. Pp. 332.

This volume presents an overview of the architecture of ancient Israel from prehistory through the Persian period. It is the English version of a 1987 book in Hebrew dedicated to the memory of the noted architect Immanuel Dunayevsky, edited by H. Katzenstein. A few photographs and plans have been added, but the text remains largely unchanged. The book is composed of individual sections, each written by a scholar with expertise in a particular period or phenomenon.

In their preface, the editors assert that the geographic area which the text covers can be described as pre-Biblical Palestine, Iron Age Israel, or modern Israel (p. xii). Such terminology suggests that the boundaries have remained the same throughout the geopolitical upheavals of four millennia. This presumably explains why the contributors have not discussed much of the architecture excavated in Syria and in Jordan, even though these two areas were often linked to Palestine culturally and sometimes politically. In the chapter on prehistory for example, O. Bar-Yosef almost completely discounts the Neolithic materials from Syria, not mentioning the evidence from sites such as Abu Hureyra and Mureybit, a surprising omission for this period when political boundaries were not yet significant.

In the first chapter of the book, R. Reich describes some of the most common building materials and defines some architectural and archaeological terms. Some terms are basic, such as "limestone" and "nari," but he also includes more specialized ones, such as the specific names of woods used for building. These definitions set

the tone for the bulk of the text, which is accessible to lay readers as well as to scholars who seek a concise review of particular issues. The second chapter, by E. Netzer, contains a discussion about why certain building materials and techniques were chosen for various constructions, and how these choices affect the collapse of a structure. This chapter, which is accompanied by clear illustrations, is an important aid even to the experienced field archaeologist. Another useful feature of the book is the glossary of clearly and briefly defined architectural terms. A helpful addition to this glossary would have been a page index, since the main index is only for names of sites and geographical regions.

Y. Porath's discussion of Chalcolithic domestic architecture presents a useful synthesis of the house types of the period and addresses the regionality of the culture. Kempinski's chapter on the early temples, however, reviews the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age materials without clearly distinguishing between the two periods. He discusses the temples of stratum XIX at Megiddo, which are usually considered Early Bronze, together with the Chalcolithic temple at Ein Gedi, as if they were contemporaneous shrines (p. 56). Although Kempinski provides an explanation in a footnote, a fuller discussion at the beginning of his chapter, or in A. Ben-Tor's introductory remarks on the Early Bronze Age, would have been appropriate.

The chapters on Early Bronze Age dwellings and fortifications are all replete with well-presented plans and photographs. Ben-Tor's descriptions of types of domestic structures appear in a well organized progression, and Kempinski traces the essentials of public architecture, touching on all the well-known examples, and even making occasional comparisons to architecture in other countries. In his chapter on the Early Bronze IV/Middle Bronze I (called here the Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze Age), R. Cohen manages to explain the nonurban nature of the period in brief, before going on to present the scanty architectural evidence. Unfortunately, he barely mentions the large amount of material excavated at sites in Transjordan.

The editorial decision to consider the architecture of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages together was an excellent one, since it emphasizes the similarity and continuity of the second millen-

nium. Each scholar was able to incorporate some of his or her own interests into the discussions, such as E. Oren on Governors' Residencies, and Kempinski on fortifications. Kempinski omits any discussion of the old controversy about the existence of Middle Bronze IIA ramparts, a topic which would have been appropriate to an architecture text.

The only significant difficulty with the chapters on the Middle and Late Bronze Ages is a problem common to any introductory, compiled text. While the authors manage to present almost all the architecture that is necessary for understanding the periods, little of it is synthesized in newly informative ways.

M. Ben-Dov and O. Baumgarten each make some unwarranted assumptions about the nature of the Late Bronze Age and its lack of known fortifications in their respective chapters on domestic architecture and urbanization. Ben-Dov, for instance, says that there were no Late Bronze fortifications because the inhabitants simply felt secure (p. 99). This completely discounts the imperial presence of Egypt in the southern Levant. Baumgarten attempts to address the vast topic of urbanization through architecture alone and makes the unprovable statement that Late Bronze cities were in fact fortified (p. 145). He also makes far-reaching assumptions about the details of political organization of cities, based only on fragmentary and unclear remains of public structures (p. 150). Since neither Ben-Dov nor Baumgarten is able to give clear explanations for their visions of domestic architecture and urbanization and since neither summarizes the current scholarship with which their ideas clash, their chapters should be read with caution.

R. Gonen's chapter on tombs of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages is useful for her classifications of tomb types, but again, no new syntheses of the material are provided. A. Mazar's chapter on temples treats the evidence from the Middle Bronze, Late Bronze, and Iron Ages together, emphasizing the great cultural continuity evident form the Middle Bronze period onward. The brevity of the Iron II section of this chapter is appropriate, since it reflects the small amount of excavated evidence, not the massive literature on Iron Age religion or the exaggerated interest in cultic structures described in the Bible. Mazar's grouping together of Middle Bronze

IIB and Middle Bronze IIC temples needs to be reconsidered, since the temples he discusses mainly date to the Middle Bronze IIC, and only smaller regional shrines seem to have been constructed during the Middle Bronze IIB. Yet his chapter as a whole is an excellent summary which deals with all basic religious architecture. One is left waiting, however, for something new to be suggested, especially since Mazar rejects several older interpretations of buildings (p. 183).

E. Netzer's discussion of the origins of the term "four-room" or "Israelite" house, stands in contrast to this. He correctly tries to broaden the terminology into the more accurate "three- or four-room" or "longroom" house. This is an example of a well explained, useful reassessment of an older term, the sort of reassessment that should be present more often in such a text.

R. Reich's chapter on Iron Age palaces and residences is extremely detailed. It is organized by site, which is very helpful to those wishing to look up specifics. In a chapter on administrative structures, Z. Herzog reviews an old debate on whether pillared structures were storehouses or stables and provides a useful summary of all types of public buildings (pp. 226 ff.). His concentration on the Egyptian presence in the country as an explanation for the forts in the south at the end of the Late Bronze Age is enlightening (p. 136). One addition to Herzog's well-illustrated section on settlement planning would have been a reference to I. Finkelstein's recent book, not just to his older doctoral dissertation, in the discussion on enclosed settlements (p. 283). (I. Finkelstein, *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement* [Jerusalem, 1988]).

Each chapter on the Iron II period includes a section on a city or settlement's need for the particular architectural feature under discussion and on methods for constructing these features. This comprehensive manner of presentation is far superior to merely describing plans and photographs, as is too often done. The accompanying illustrations are informative and helpful. Herzog included many schematic drawings of both orthogonally and peripherally planned Iron Age cities (particularly figs. 12, 13, 17, 19), which enable the reader to understand easily the development and structure of Iron II settlements. He also presents tables of the shapes and



dimensions of city gates (p. 268), and Y. Shiloh presents a similar chart with data on water systems (p. 277). While such precise measurements are perhaps unnecessary to a book of this scope and scale, they do provide even the novice reader with an impression of the amount of detail available from careful studies of architecture.

One of the nicer features of this book is the attention paid to peripheral regions and phenomena, including the chapters by I. Beit-Arie on the Early Bronze II in southern Israel and Sinai, D. Bahat on dolmens, Z. Meshel on Iron Age fortresses in the Negev, and E. Stern on Phoenician architecture in Israel at the end of the Iron Age and Persian period. Such chapters help the book attain its broad reach.

One final point which must be mentioned concerns the continual overuse of architecture from Megiddo by many scholars. Constant use of Megiddo as an example fosters the impression that it is a representative and well-excavated standard. In reality, the site only happens to have been excavated with broad horizontal exposures and should not be seen as typical of any phenomenon, especially since so many stratigraphic problems have become apparent since its publication. The other side of this issue is that while the Megiddo material is overused, important evidence from Syria and Jordan is too often neglected or ignored.

Overall, however, the book is filled with useful drawings, plans, and photographs, and its text is accessible to both scholar and lay readers alike. *The Architecture of Ancient Israel* successfully presents a vast array of archaeological material in an organized and usable manner.

RACHEL S. HALLOTE

Pennsylvania State University  
University Park

*A Dictionary of Ancient Near Eastern Mythology.* By GWENDOLYN LEICK. London and New York: Routledge, 1991. Pp. xiii + 199 + 44 pls. \$59.95.

The author, as the flyleaf of the dust jacket tells us, has a doctorate in Assyriology from the University of Graz in Austria and now lectures in archaeology and ancient history at the Univer-

sity of Wales. Her English is generally good, but at times somewhat awkward (p. 86 for "forbids him expressively," she means "forbids him expressly," and "bride-prize" is for "bride-price").

Although a reader might assume from the title *A Dictionary of Ancient Near Eastern Mythology* that ancient Egypt was included, it is not. The major cultures whose deities and mythological literatures are covered are Mesopotamia (i.e., Sumer, Elam, Babylonia, and Assyria), Syria-Palestine (including Ugarit, later Canaanite, and Phoenician sources), and Anatolia (including Hittites, Hurrians, Luwians).

According to the author's own introduction (p. xi, bottom) the book "is intended as a general reference work for students of religious studies, anthropology and Oriental studies and attempts to make the subject accessible to a wider academic audience."

If the primary audience is a broad popular one, the approximately 375 items of bibliography (pp. 176-88), which includes books and articles written in German and French, will test the average university graduate. Furthermore, the average nonacademic will find it difficult to locate many of the texts referred to in the articles. If it is a scholarly one, readers will miss many important articles which have been omitted. A scholar would need much more information and would expect a higher standard of accuracy than what is found in this book. If the scholar is able to read English, French, and German, as Leick's bibliography presumes, he would be better advised to consult the *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* cited in p. ix or the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*.

Since my field is ancient Anatolia, I will evaluate the articles dealing with Anatolian subjects.

**Allani** is an important Hurrian goddess mentioned in Hittite texts who should not have been omitted. Her name in Hurrian means "the Lady." She was also referred to in Hittite as "the Sun-goddess of the Earth/Netherworld."

**Anu.** One is surprised that the author, who has a doctorate in Assyriology, makes so many elementary mistakes in translating and transliterating Sumerian words and names. According to her, "the sign dingir . . . means 'heaven'." Every beginning student in Sumerian or Akkadian learns that the sign in question is read **an** when it means "heaven" and **dingir** when it means "god." In a work of this kind, which seeks to synthe-

size information from many ancient Near Eastern literatures, there should certainly have been a discussion of the role played by Anu in the Hurrian Kumarbi epic preserved in a good Hittite edition.<sup>1</sup>

**Anat.** The standard dictionaries of Akkadian know of no word *ettu*, "active will," from which the name of the goddess <sup>c</sup>Anat might be derived. The Ugaritic for "maiden" should be read *btlt*, not *blt*. It might have been noted both here and in many other articles how this deity's name occurs in personal and geographical names (cf. biblical place-name Beth-Anath).

**Anunna(ki).** Again there is no mention of the appearance of this group of deities in the Hurrian and Hittite texts. Good studies are W. G. Lambert, "The Mesopotamian Background of the Hurrian Pantheon," *Revue hittite et asianique* 36 (1978): 129–34, and A. Archi, "The Names of the Primeval Gods," *Orientalia*, n. s., 59 (1990): 114–29. The Akkadogram/Sumerogram in the Hittite texts was used to denote a group of deities with Hurrianized Mesopotamian names, who were called as a group "the primeval (or former) gods."

**Appu.** This article is confused on many points. Leick follows Gaster and a few others in interpreting the story in a burlesque manner, regarding Appu as a stupid bumpkin who knows not even the rudiments of how to have sexual intercourse. Only Leick adds the wife too. The significance of the text's statement that Appu goes to bed "with his boots on" and his wife "fully clothed" is not clear. The wife's action may have been prompted by her despising Appu rather than by naïveté. It is not said that Appu also was "fully clothed," although the reason for singling out the boots is elusive. The bibliography lists the old edition by Friedrich but omits the new and much superior one by Siegelová.<sup>2</sup> A reliable English translation is now available.<sup>3</sup>

**Dagan,** contrary to the statement here, does not mean "the rainy one," but rather "grain" (cf. the common noun in Biblical Hebrew). In the god-lists from Ugarit, he is equated with Hurro-

Hittite Kumarbi, who on the rock relief at Yazılıkaya is shown with a stalk of grain in his hand.

**(El)qunirsa.** There is no equation between Ašertu and <sup>c</sup>Ašart, but there is between the latter and <sup>c</sup>Anat. <sup>2</sup>Ašertu is the old West Semitic writing of the <sup>2</sup>Ašerah in the Bible. The myth in question is translated into English in both *ANET* and in my *Hittite Myths*, pp. 69–70.

**Enlil** also plays an important role in the Hurrian Kumarbi myths.

**Erra** may also be represented in the divine name Yarri in Hittite texts. The characteristics of Yarri are precisely those of Erra.

**Estan.** On the reliefs at Yazılıkaya, the sun-god has a distinctive cap, the same as is worn by the Hittite king in the same reliefs, but it is not a winged cap. Since the Sun-goddess of Arinna is always female, it is unlikely that Eštan/Ištanu is not a separate deity but merely another name for the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

**Hattian gods.** Although the goddess Tašimeti is given the Sumerographic byname IŠTAR in Hattic liturgies, it does not follow that she is the "mistress of Tešub in the myth of Kumarbi," since the latter is a Hurrian, not a Hattian, myth!

The **Hedammu** story is misunderstood, with episodes included which belong properly to other units in the cycle of songs of Kumarbi. For a reliable recent translation and a better interpretation see my *Hittite Myths*, pp. 38 f., 48 ff.

**Hittite gods** (pp. 82 f.). The author is under the false impression that many of the prominent goddesses of the Hittite texts were figures of the "Mother-goddess" (pp. 119 f.). The statement that the consort of the Mother-goddess was the Weather-god (p. 81) is unsupported, as is the claim that she was worshiped in Hatti as Wurunšemu, Inara, IŠTAR, or Hebat (p. 120). All that these latter three goddesses have in common with such a mother-goddess is that they were conceived as females. One should not read the Sumerogram for the mother-goddess as <sup>D</sup>MAH (*Mah*, p. 83) but as DINGIR.MAH. It is also very uncertain that *šiuš-šummiš* in the Old Hittite Anitta text is to be considered as a proper name instead of as a common noun "our deity," referring to the goddess Halmaššuit.<sup>4</sup> If the word is not a proper name, then all of the supposition about

<sup>1</sup> See my *Hittite Myths* (Atlanta, 1990); F. Pecchioli Daddi and A. M. Polvani, *La mitologia ittita* (Brescia, 1990).

<sup>2</sup> J. Siegelová, *Appu-Märchen und Hedammu-Mythus* (Wiesbaden, 1971).

<sup>3</sup> *Hittite Myths*, pp. 63–65.

<sup>4</sup> F. Starke, "Halmasuit im Anitta-Texte und die hethitische Ideologie vom Königtum," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 69 (1979): 47–120.

worship of a "sky-god Siu" goes right out the window.

**Hittite myths.** It is not clear that the Appu story derives from the Hurrians.

**Illuyanka** is not a name but an ordinary Hittite noun meaning "serpent." Although in one of the two stories the serpent is large and lives in the sea, in the other it is definitely a land animal which comes up out of hole in the ground; "giant, dragon-like sea-monster" is therefore wrong on several counts and gives the reader an entirely erroneous impression. The latest translations of the story are in F. Pecchioli Daddi and A. M. Polvani, *La mitologia itita* (Brescia, 1990) and in my *Hittite Myths*. Although the text states expressly that it is "the cult legend of the Purulli festival," it is not true that at the end of version one Inara "had given her house to the king for the celebration of the *purulliya* (New Year) festival." In fact, we know relatively little about the nature of this festival. What we do know suggests a date in the spring but not necessarily a "New Years."

**Inara** is herself associated in the Illuyanka texts with the "field" (Hittite *gimraš*), which is why she is later (perhaps inexactly) associated with the Sumerogram <sup>D</sup>LAMMA. See most recently G. McMahon, *The Hittite State Cult of the Tutelary Deities* (Chicago, 1991) and add an earlier standard treatment H. Otten, "dKAL = dInar(a)," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 17 (1954–56): 369.

**Kumarbi** is clearly presented in the Hurrian myths from Hattuša as the son of Alalu, not Anu! Anu, who supplanted Alalu as king of the gods, was in turn supplanted by Kumarbi.<sup>5</sup> He is "father of the Weather-god" (i.e., Tešub) in the same myth only in the sense that, having swallowed Anu's semen, he becomes the "womb" in which Anu's sons, including Tešub, grow and come to birth.

Much more could have been helpfully written about the **Luwian gods**, since E. Laroche, *Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites* (=RHA, vol. 1 [1947]) gives a lengthy list of

their names, many of which are indications of their functions.

**Mother-goddess.** Cf. above sub **Hittite gods**.

**Mountain-gods.** There has been a misunderstanding of the Illuyanka story which underlies a statement to the effect that "a 'female mountain' was apparently Zashapuna in Central Anatolia." What the text actually says is that there is a *male* mountain-god (all Hittite mountain deities are male) Zalinuwa, whose wife is Zašhapuna, who is not said to be a mountain-goddess.<sup>6</sup>

**Pirwa.** The etymology of this god's name is quite unclear. Most likely it is non-Indo-European and has nothing to do with the Hittite word *peru(na)*- "rock."

**Primeval gods.** Since these deities all have Hurrian names, there is little to be gained by citing the Hittite (!) words which describe them *karullieš šiuneš*, "primeval deities."<sup>7</sup>

**Queen of Neša.** The most recent translation and discussion of the story is in my *Hittite Myths*, pp. 62 ff.

**Šarruma.** It might have been added that this god not only appears in Chamber B of Yazılıkaya embracing King Tudhaliya IV but that he also appears as a bull-calf in the central panel of Chamber A with his divine parents, Tešub and Hebat.

**Šauška** does indeed appear twice in the reliefs of Yazılıkaya, once among the gods and once among the goddesses. But among the gods (fig. 38) she does not appear "as a warrior" but dressed as a female and accompanied by her two maidservants Ninatta and Kulitta (figs. 36 and 37).

**Sun-goddess of Arinna.** It is claimed that Wurunšemu is probably not the Hattic name of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, since the former name occurs only in later texts. This is certainly not true. In the form <sup>D</sup>Urunzimu the name occurs already in Old Hittite religious texts written in the Old Script.<sup>8</sup>

One could go on with detailed criticism of individual lemmata, but enough has been seen to in-

<sup>5</sup> See already my article "Hittite Mythological Texts: A Survey," in H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts, eds., *Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East* (Baltimore, 1975), pp. 136–45.

<sup>6</sup> *Hittite Myths*, pp. 12–13.

<sup>7</sup> For bibliographical items omitted here, see above **Anunna(ki)**

<sup>8</sup> See E. Neu, *Althethitische Ritualtexte in Umschrift* (Wiesbaden, 1980), texts 21 and 22.



dicating that general readers would be well advised to mistrust the information given about the Hittites and Hurrians in this book and to seek more reliable information either in the primary bibliography given at the end of each article or in the existing works mentioned at the beginning of this review.

HARRY A. HOFFNER, Jr.

*The University of Chicago*

*The Late Babylonian Texts of the Oriental Institute Collection.* By DAVID B. WEISBERG. *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica*, vol. 24. Malibu: Undena Publications, 1991. Pp. vii + 87 + 131 pls.

In this volume D. B. Weisberg publishes the 54 cuneiform texts from Uruk dated to the Seleucid and Arsacid periods which are preserved in the Tablet Collection of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. All of them are legal transactions with the exception of text 50, a private letter, and text 51, a hymnic composition to Adad. In his 1977 survey of the source material from Hellenistic Uruk, L. T. Doty evaluated at 535 texts and fragments the total number of known archival texts from that site and period, of which no more than 180 were then published (L. T. Doty, "Cuneiform Archives from Hellenistic Uruk" [Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1977], pp. 31–48). Since then, the 76 texts preserved at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, were published in autograph copy (G. J. P. McEwan, *Hellenistic Texts from Babylonia*, OECT 9 [Oxford, 1982]), and a few more items preserved in museums and tablets collections around the world have been published by various scholars (McEwan, *ARRIM* 4 [1986]: 35–36; Durand, *TBER*, pls. 35 and 70 = AO 11080 and 19944, edited in Joannès, *TEBR*, nos. 52 and 53; Kessler, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 15 [1984]: 273–82; and my article in *RA* 83 [1989]: 53–87). When the 100 additional texts from the Yale Babylonian Collection are published (forthcoming as YOS 20, by Doty), the only significant groups of archival texts from Seleucid Uruk that will remain inaccessible in hand-copies are the some 90 texts and fragments

preserved at the Museum of the Ancient Orient, Istanbul, and the 10 tablets preserved at the Harvard Semitic Museum. With roughly 10 percent of the total archival material from Seleucid and Parthian Uruk, the volume herewith reviewed therefore constitutes a significant addition to our source material from Hellenistic Babylonia.

D. B. Weisberg is hardly a newcomer to the field of late Babylonian studies, and this is amply attested by the great quality and clarity of his copies. The volume is provided with a brief introduction, a descriptive index of the texts (museum number, provenience, date, ruler, year B.C., short summary of contents), an index of personal names and divine names, as well as specialized indexes of female and Greek personal names. The author also made drawings of the seal impressions; it seems to me that these drawings are often too rudimentary to be of any use to art historians, but they may serve as a preliminary guideline for anyone who might eventually undertake a more in-depth study of them.

The only significant weakness in this volume is the lack of consistency and accuracy in the descriptive index of the texts. Text 1 is not a deed of sale of prebendal income from a «bow fief», which I presume the author derived from reading the sign ŠIDIM as BAN, but a deed of sale of the *itinnūtu* prebend (2. GIŠ.ŠUB.BA <sup>16</sup>ŠIDIM-nu-ú-tú šá ina é iri<sub>12</sub>-gal é re-é 3. u é a-ki-tu<sub>4</sub> šá <sup>d</sup>INNIN). The *itinnūtu* prebend is discussed most recently by G. J. P. McEwan (*Priest and Temple in Hellenistic Babylonia*, FAOS 4 [Wiesbaden, 1981], pp. 87–89). The publication of an additional example of this prebend is quite welcome, since the office is very rarely attested. Also, it would have been useful to mention that the *ērib-bitūtu* and *ṭābīhūtu* prebends sold in text 12 are attached to the *ḫallat* garden and the temple of Bēlet-šēri (3. <sup>14</sup>KU<sub>4</sub>-ē-ú-tú u <sup>16</sup>GÍR.LÁ-ú-tú ina é <sup>618</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub> ḫal-lat ina é.TUŠ. (SAG).GÁ.NI 4. é <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-EDIN). The prebends connected with the *ḫallat* garden were studied by D. Cocquerillat, "Recherches sur le verger du temple campagnard de l'Akitu," *WO* 7 (1973–74): 96–134. Text 25 is a sale of real estate located on the domains of the temple of Lugal(g)irra (5. šá ina KI-ti é <sup>1</sup>lugal-ir<sub>9</sub>-ra<sup>1</sup>) and not in the é DINGIR.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ GAL.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>, as stated in the index. Text 27 is listed

as a "deed of sale of south room and empty plot of land in the Bit Adad district." I presume that this "south room" is derived from reading É-su ép-šú, "his built house," in line 2 as É su-tu<sub>4</sub>-šú, which is of course incorrect. Text 33 is listed as a "deed of sale of reed hut in the Eanna district of Uruk," which is somewhat misleading, since the sale of a storehouse on the domains of the temple of Adad is involved (2. É ku-ru-up-pu-šú ép-šú šá ina KI-ti<sup>1</sup> É<sup>d</sup>IM šá qé-reb 3. UNUG<sup>ki</sup>). That *kuruppu* storehouses were sometimes made of reed does not really warrant their characterization as "reed huts," especially as text 37, which is also a sale of a *kuruppu* storehouse, is, correctly this time, listed in the index as "deed of sale of a storehouse." The same remark applies to text 34, listed as "deed of sale of reed hut by a woman in the 'É.DINGIR.MEŠ' district of Uruk," whereas here again the object of the sale is a *kuruppu* storehouse on the domains of the temple of Adad (2. É<sup>d</sup>IM<sup>1</sup>).

In the indexes of personal and divine names Weisberg consistently reads the logogram <sup>d</sup>INNIN as Innin: thus the names <sup>1</sup>ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>INNIN (p. 63) and <sup>1</sup>ri-hat-<sup>d</sup>INNIN (p. 65) are read Nidintu-Innin and Rihât-Innin, and the divine name <sup>d</sup>INNIN (p. 76) is read Innin. In all these cases <sup>d</sup>INNIN is of course to be read Ištar. There is no reason to assume that the orthographical rules prevailing in Neo-Babylonian Uruk were no longer valid in the Seleucid period, that is to say: the divine name Innin is always written syllabically (<sup>d</sup>in-nin, <sup>d</sup>in-nin-na, or <sup>d</sup>in-nin-ni), while the name Ištar may be written syllabically or with the logograms <sup>d</sup>INNIN and <sup>d</sup>15. Similarly, the name <sup>1</sup>man-nu-ki-i-<sup>d</sup>DIL.BAT (p. 58) must be read Mannu-akî-Ištar, not Mannu-ki-Dilbat. The star name Dilbat, which is the astral manifestation of Ištar as the planet Venus, stands in this case as a logogram for Ištar.

One of the more significant novelties in this volume are the several transactions concerning the prebend of *kalû* and its perquisites. Text 47, a quitclaim resulting from the sale of that prebend (lines 2–3: GIŠ.ŠUB.BA gab-bi šá <sup>14</sup>GALA-û-tû), is the first instance in Seleucid Uruk of a legal transaction involving the *kalûtu*. As pointed out by McEwan (*Priest and Temple*, pp. 12–13), the *kalûs* were thus far attested almost exclusively in colophons of literary and

scientific texts, or as scribes in business documents. All the ones who are known by name are descendants of Sîn-lêqi-unninni, the famed Middle-Babylonian compiler of the Akkadian epic of Gilgamesh. Reconstruction of their family tree suggests that the office of *kalû* was held hereditarily among members of the clan. Text 47 confirms these conclusions, as the seller of the prebend, one Rihât-Anu, is also a descendant of Sîn-lêqi-unninni. Texts 2, 5, 7, 9, and 17 shed more light on this question. They consist of various transactions (sales, gifts) concerning the "neck cut" (2:2, 5 <sup>uzu</sup>ti-ik-ka<sup>meš</sup>; 5:2, 4, 7 <sup>uzu</sup>ti-ik-ka-nu; 7:6' <sup>uzu</sup>ti-ik-ka; 9:6', 7', r.1' 7' <sup>uzu</sup>ti-ik-ku; 17:3 <sup>uzu</sup>ti-ik-ku<sup>meš</sup>) of sacrificial animals; all of them involve members of the Sîn-lêqi-unninni family. While these transactions do not specify the prebend to which the neck cut is attached, an administrative text from Seleucid Uruk clearly associates the neck cut with the *kalû* priests (*BaghMitt*, Beiheft 2, 115:1 šá-ṭar šá <sup>uzu</sup>ti-ik-ka<sup>meš</sup> šá <sup>14</sup>GALA.MEŠ). In the earlier periods the neck cut was also associated with the *kalûtu* prebend (for the Neo-Babylonian Eanna at Uruk see *Iraq* 45 [1983]: 187–98, lines 12, 35, and 61; and for Assyrian temples, see E. Ebeling, *Stiftungen und Vorschriften für assyrisches Tempel* [Berlin, 1954], p. 19:16). These texts therefore confirm that the Sîn-lêqi-unninni clan exerted some kind of monopoly over the office of *kalû*. We also know that the *kalûs* of Uruk belonged to the Sîn-lêqi-unninni family since at least the sixth century (see YOS 7, 71:12–17). At Kutha and Babylon, however, the local *kalûs* claimed descent from other ancestors.

Texts 27 and 29 (duplicates: sale of real estate on the domains of the temple of Adad) contain a legal formula of great interest for the history of deed registration under the Seleucid rulers: 11. KÙ.BABBAR a<sub>4</sub> 1 MA.NA 12. 10 GÍN KÙ. BABBAR ŠÁM É u ki-šub-ba-a MU.MEŠ TIL. MEŠ it-ti 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR šá na-da-na 13. a-na KUŠ GÍD.DA (text 29: KUŠ gít-ta) šá maš-kanu-tu šá ép-šú ina ITI ZÍZ U<sub>4</sub> 8-KAM MU 148-KAM 14. ina un-qa šá LUGAL a-na muḫ-ḫi É ■ ki-šub-ba-a MU.MEŠ I mat-tan-na-tu<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>60 <sup>14</sup>na-din-nan 15. É u ki-šub-ba MU.MEŠ ina ŠU.MIN I NÍG.SUM.MU-<sup>d</sup>60 ma-ḫir e-ṭir, "the silver, namely 1 mina 10 shekels of silver, the total price of that house and unbuilt plot of land, together with

1 mina of silver for the transfer of the deed of pledge concerning that house and unbuilt plot of land registered on parchment with the signet-ring of the king, on the 8th day of the 11th month in the 148th year, has Mattannatu-Anu, the seller of that house and unbuilt plot of land, received from Nidintu-Anu; he is paid." At various points in time during the Seleucid period specific types of legal transactions suddenly vanished from the cuneiform record. In his dissertation, Doty established a correlation between their disappearance and the introduction of taxes on these transactions by the Seleucid monarchs. Deeds subject to these new taxes had to be registered at the royal tax office, where Greek and Aramaic were presumably the preferred languages of business. Taxable transactions were now redacted in these languages rather than cuneiform Akkadian, which gradually fell into disuse. The last known slave sale in cuneiform, BRM 2, 10, is dated 2-VI-37 S.E., shortly after the (supposed) introduction of the tax by Antiochus I. This document is impressed with an official seal bearing the legend *un-qa sa-um-bu-lu šá* LUGAL "signet-ring with the royal emblem" (on this reading see McEwan, *JNES* 41 [1982]: 51-53). This is clearly a transitional document, namely, the only example of a slave sale still drafted in cuneiform Akkadian after the introduction of the tax and registered with the official royal seal. Later, such sales were recorded on parchment (KUŠ GÍD.DA), but none has survived. The mention of a written deed on parchment (presumably in the Aramaic language) sealed with the royal signet-ring in text 27-29 is the first direct attestation of this registration practice in a Hellenistic cuneiform document (for Achaemenid antecedents, see Stolper, *ZA* 79 [1989]: 80-101). The parchment mentioned in text 27-29 appears to have been a document registering the pledge of the house as the result of a previous obligation; this pledge was being redeemed for the sum of one mina of silver as an ancillary clause to the sale. The term KUŠ GÍD.DA for parchment is attested a few times in Seleucid period documents (see, for example, Joannès, *NABU* 1987/108 l. 9).

Texts 43, 44, and 49 record dedications of slaves to the temples of Uruk for the purpose of doing repair work; the dedications are made for the life of the king and the royal family, the

community, the donor, and his relatives (e.g., text 43: 4. *a-na muḫ-ḫi bul-tu šá* LUGAL.MEŠ *a-na muḫ-ḫi* 5. *bul-tu šá* IM.<RI.A>-šú *a-na muḫ-ḫi bul-tu šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-a *a-na muḫ-ḫi* 6. *bul-tu šá* UN.MEŠ-šú<sup>14</sup> DUMU-a-ni<sup>meš</sup>). Thus far only two texts of this type were known: BRM 2, 53, and YBC 11633 (see Doty, "Cuneiform Archives," pp. 87-89). Texts 43 and 44 are also among the rare texts from Uruk dated to the reigns of Arsacid rulers. They show that, contrary to the long prevailing opinion, the temples of Uruk weathered the transition from Greco-Macedonian to Parthian rule; this has already been established by K. Kessler (*Baghdader Mitteilungen* 15 [1984]: 273-81).

Text 50, which provides the illustration for the book cover, is a private letter addressed by Anu-bēlšunu of the Ekur-zākir family to Anu-zēr-id-din, also from that family. It is a welcome addition to our corpus of epistolary material from Seleucid Uruk, which has so far comprised only two documents: NBC 4869 (unpublished), and *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 2, 114, addressed by Anu-balāssu-iqbi to Anu-bēlšunu and Nidintu-Anu. As pointed out by M. M. Dandamajeva ("Lettre de l'Uruk des séleucides," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* [VDI] 183 [1987]: 132-41), the very existence of such letters is one of the several clues suggesting that the Akkadian language may still have been spoken, albeit in restricted circles, during the Hellenistic period.

This short survey far from exhausts the epigraphic riches presented in this book. My only purpose has been to point out some items of particular interest. It is only when these texts are grouped into family archives and studied in conjunction with the previously published source material from Seleucid Uruk that they will reveal more substantial information on that important Babylonian Hellenistic community. The task of preparing copies of cuneiform texts, while painstaking and often unrewarding, is the essential initial step in the interpretation of these ancient documents. One can only be grateful to D. B. Weisberg for his achievement and look forward to the publication of his work on the Neo-Babylonian texts from the same collection.

PAUL-ALAIN BEAULIEU

Yale University



*Konkordanz der Keilschrifttafeln I: Die Texte der Grabung 1931.* Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, vol. 34. By SILVIN KOŠAK. With an Introduction by HEINRICH OTTEN. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1992. Pp. xi + 116. DM 24.80.

In his Introduction, Heinrich Otten gives details of the circumstances of excavation and recording that have in the past caused problems with tablets from the 1931 season of excavations at Boğazköy, particularly as regards find-spots. These are now put in order by Košak's volume, neatly arranged in columns and supplemented by succinct footnotes where appropriate, supplying additional information or references to recent editions or forthcoming editions that he is aware of.

As expected, most of the tablets registered in this volume are Hittite. Some, however, are Akkadian "literary" texts (in the widest sense, including rituals, omens, and medical texts). If I eagerly looked forward to Košak's concordance, it was because of my personal experience of frustration in trying to work on the tablets from the 1931 season. In 1972, I spent about a month in Ankara to collate texts for a projected edition of the Boğazköy "literary" texts in Akkadian. The plain fact is that the published excavation numbers for the 1931 season do not correspond with numbers on the tablets and are therefore useless in locating the tablets in Ankara. Consequently, I was able to see only a very few of the tablets with —/a (indicating the first season of the new series of excavation seasons) and could not check them for possible joins with tablets from subsequent seasons. The usefulness of Košak's concordance would have been enhanced considerably if he had given the museum numbers under which these tablets are to be found in Ankara.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, that is not the case.

I am told by colleagues in Hittite studies that Laroche's list of joins in his *Catalogue des textes hittites* is excellent. I believe his "joins" (including those indicated by "(+)," that is, an indication that fragments belong to the same original tablet even though they do not physically join) are less reliable when he was cataloguing the mostly quite fragmentary Akkadian texts, with

which he was naturally less familiar (and for which no duplicates were available, as opposed to the case for some of the Hittite texts). I can comment on only one example in the 1931 season's texts, since one fragment had been joined to a fragment from another season and could consequently be located: 566/b (KUB 37 12) joins KUB 37 14. According to my notes, I believed that of Laroche's proposed joins, KUB 37 12 (+) 13 (+) 14 (+) 15 (+) 16 (+) 17, no. 15 quite likely belongs to the same tablet as 12 + 14 and that nos. 13, 16, and 17 are from another tablet (though the fragments do not physically join).<sup>2</sup>

Useful for scholars of Hittite texts are the sketches of joined fragments showing where they join. This should help others to identify additional joins among published tablets.

We can be grateful to Silvin Košak for bringing order to the confusion that surrounded the tablets from the 1931 season at Boğazköy, but I must express regret that he decided not to include the Ankara museum numbers of the tablets.

ROBERT D. BIGGS

*The University of Chicago*

<sup>2</sup> Another example of a mistaken "join" by Laroche is cited by Košak on p. 18, n. 3 and p. 23, n. 2, based on information provided by G. Wilhelm.

*Uruk: Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus dem Eanna-Archiv, Teil I: Texte verschiedenen Inhalts.* By ERLAND GEHLKEN. Ausgrabungen in Urku-Warka, Endberichte, Band 5. Mainz: Verlag Phillipp von Zabern, 1990. Pp. x + 215 + 160 figs. DM 110.

The book is organized into four sections, briefly summarized here:

(1) Introduction: On Eanna and the Eanna archive; (2) Texts: transliterations, translations, comments, crafts, cattle industry, real property, prebends, "ration"-lists, proper name lists, legal documents, letters, assorted; (3) Indexes: Proper names; Sumerian, Akkadian and Aramaic words; and (4) Copies: P. 1 and P. 2.

#### *General Comments*

The basis of this book is the author's dissertation, which was supervised by Karlheinz Deller.

<sup>1</sup> It is clear from p. 4, n. 6, that he now has these museum numbers.

The 160 texts which form its core were excavated during the twelfth and thirteenth campaigns of the German Archaeological Institute in Uruk/Warka, conducted in 1954 and 1954–55 (see p. 150). The texts stem from the so-called “Eanna Archive” (for definition and usage of this term, see pp. 6 f.). According to the editor, Rainer Michael Boehmer, six more such text volumes in the series *Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka Endberichte* are planned.

Among the many positive things one notices about this work is that the research has been carefully done and the book can be used with confidence by the scholar of this period. For the patient reader of the comments, footnotes, and indexes, there is much helpful material on the Neo-Babylonian period. I found virtually no typos in the volume, with the exception of “Nachprüfung” on p. 8, and a double hyphen in “Evil-Merodachs” on p. 52.

The author brings the reader up to date on the bibliography relevant to each topic addressed. Painstaking labor on the fragments by Gehlken (see the forward and p. 7, n. 21) made numerous joins possible. Much of the credit for the precision and depth of the volume is due to Gehlken’s use of the computer, which has enhanced his work to a high degree (see, for example p. 8, n. 23). The author’s data base is impressive. Compare, for example, p. 104a 6’ and p. 107b to BIN 1 126.

On a less momentous level, in some places, the book is encumbered by irrelevant detail, lacking a trimness that could make it more readily useful, whereas in other places, relevant detail is wanting. The apparatus is cluttered with non-standard abbreviations, signals, and signs. Despite this, not all abbreviations are listed, and having guidelines dispersed among three or more separate lists (for example, on pp. 2–3, and in the Personal Name Index, on p. 125) is awkward. Another example of clutter: in comments to text no. 87 p. 77, most of the annotation could have been saved by referring simply to *AHw*. 1377a (from which, apparently, the references come). The historical summary and building history beginning with the earliest periods in Mesopotamia (pp. 4 ff.) are extraneous in a volume dealing with the Neo-Babylonian period. Furthermore, the organization of the copies into two parts (pp. 159 ff. and 198 ff.) is an inconvenience;

some cuneiform signs are roughly drawn (e.g., [A].ESIR.UD.A, text no. 143:2, copy p. 194; or the *ha-* of text no. 38:3—see pp. 40 and 201), and the use of different hatched lines in the copies is unnecessary.

There are details in the volume that are not as accessible as they could be. For example, since many words are only partially indexed, one may not be able to locate a useful discussion. A case in point is the word, *šihu* (“domain, district”). The Index (p. 149) refers one to text no. 70 (r. 7, see pp. 57 and 59b), where there is only a passing mention of the word, rather than to text no. 133 (p. 111), where a list of the districts around Uruk and a fuller discussion are given. Or take the interesting comments on the transcription and interpretation of the Personal Name *Zimā* (with variant vowel lengths), this item relating to text no. 13, r. 4 on p. 28b is unindexed.

#### *Specific Comments by Page (Selected)*

Pp. 10, 37 (text 29:3’), 38 (text no. 30:2), and passim. For West Semitic Personal Names, see further Ran Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 28 (Leuven, 1988)—a mine of information.

P. 12. Among his “Notes to Selected Terms,” Gehlken discusses *maḥāru* (IGI) *našû* (GIŠ). Instead of GIŠ (Borger, *Zeichenliste*, no. 296), we would prefer Freydanck’s reading in SWU (p. 34) of GURU<sub>9</sub>. The scribes preserved a distinction between these two cuneiform signs, with GURU<sub>9</sub> having two diagonally oriented signs before the vertical (=GIŠ-*tenû*), while GIŠ had two horizontal wedges in that position. Gehlken’s copies do not accurately reflect this distinction (for examples, consult *našû* in the Index and see the copies).

P. 13. While preparing his study of the Eblaite language, the late I. J. Gelb told me that he thought that the most difficult features of a language to understand correctly were the particles. Gehlken calls attention to several such particles, such as *ša*, for example, where usage varies between (a) “from,” (b) “for,” and (c) “belonging to” (depending on context; see p. 13 with n. 37). There are, of course, additional usages; see, for example, comments to text no. 127:3 and translation to text no. 128, rev. 2’.) Such discussions are indicative of the author’s sensitivity to nuances of the Neo-Babylonian dialect.

P. 52 to text no. 56:2. For the distinction *bari-āli* (see *AHw.* 1094–95) suggested by Gehlken relating to animals domestic or wild, one might compare Hebrew/Aramaic *bar* and *bayit*.

Pp. 111 ff. Commenting on text no. 134, a document of indebtedness concerning silver, Gehlken wonders how money belonging to a private individual could at the same time be designated “income of the chest” (*i[rbu ša arāni]* = public/temple property—if the restoration is correct). His discussion explores issues concerning personal vs. public business transactions. It appears that these were viewed differently in the later periods of Mesopotamian antiquity from the way they would be viewed in a modern society, where separation of powers is the accepted norm. One can see as a parallel situation Seleucid transactions in which land characterized as *makkūr* <sup>4</sup>*Anu* (see, for example, *BiMes* 24 13 and *passim*, also *AHw.* 590) is sold by a private individual.

P. 118. In text no. 145, corresponding to a known pattern of Neo-Babylonian texts enumerating cult objects often connected with the *salām biti* ceremony, one should assume one missing line at the beginning of the obverse. Restore before Gelken’s line 1):

[1 *a-da-ru* KU<sub>3</sub>.BABBAR]

and restore the following number of vessels in Gehlken’s lines 1) and 2):

[16 *da*n-nu-t[u KU<sub>3</sub>.BABBAR]

[15] *kan-kan-na-a-[ti* KU<sub>3</sub>.BABBAR]

The vessels enumerated in Gehlken’s text no. 145:3 ff. are often listed in similar texts, remarkably with the same numbers of vessels (though not the same line count), even in texts originating from different reigns of the Neo-Babylonian period.

Scholars in the field of Neo-Babylonian studies (and Assyriology generally) are much indebted to the author of this volume, Erland Gehlken, and all those on this project who are laboring to produce more materials and organize them so as to advance our knowledge in this important area.

DAVID B. WEISBERG

Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion  
Cincinnati

*Al-Ghazali: The Ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God.* Translated by DAVID B. BURRELL and NAZIH DAHER. Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1992. \$39.95 (cloth), \$17.95 (paperback).

How to name the Unnameable, how to invoke in human utterance what transcends and defies all utterance? This is the double question of monotheistic faith; it absorbs, and informs, the quest of every devout believer in Abraham and his offspring.

Muslims gravitate to the paradox of prophetic loyalty. Emphatically they affirm its relevance for their own faith stance. After all, is not the Arab prophet, in Islamic belief, the final messenger to Abraham’s descendants? Inspired by the Archangel Gabriel, Muhammad called on God. He taught his followers to call on God. He taught them to invoke the Transcendent and to do so with ninety-nine names, each beautiful because latent with meaning conveying one by one attributes of the divine essence. Rosaries, a common sight throughout Muslim Africa and Asia, attest to the power of invoking the One through His many, many names.

Since the time of the Prophet Muhammad, Muslim intellectuals have acknowledged the enduring value of the recurrent urge to invoke God’s ninety-nine names. None has written more broadly about this practice than the noted eleventh-century A.D./fifth-century A.H. Asian theologian, jurist, and mystic Abu Hamid al-Ghazali. Among his numerous, influential writings is a systematic commentary on the ninety-nine beautiful names of God. Not only does it explore the origin and nature of this list, but it also broaches more difficult questions, such as how humans can dare to claim participation in the divine attributes and also what benefits they can hope to derive from such participation.

Al-Ghazali’s essay is marked, above all, by humility in the face of the unknown and the Unknowable. In the introduction, he uses an analogy that merits repetition: “How,” he asks, “could human powers follow the way of investigation and scrutiny regarding the divine attributes? Can the eyes of bats tolerate the light of the sun?” His thesis is that they/we can try to pierce the divine effulgence because we must presume that God’s attributes are predicates of something otherwise elusive, that is, Goodness or the divine



essence. But much remains locked in mystery, and Al-Ghazali does not hesitate to add at many difficult junctures: "God knows best," or "God (alone) knows what is right."

The format of this book, as of most books from the Islamic Texts Society, is marked by high quality. The editing and printing are superb. Annotation and indexing are ample yet uncluttered. Especially useful for reference purposes is the index of divine names: it gives the pages where each name is principally expounded in bold type, other passages in regular type. Though the division of labor between the two coauthors is nowhere noted, their combined effort has produced a lean, attractive volume for which both they and their publishers are to be commended.

BRUCE B. LAWRENCE

Duke University

*Qasr Ibrim in the Ottoman Period: Turkish and Further Arabic Documents.* By MARTIN HINDS and VICTOR MÉNAGE. Texts from Excavations, Eleventh Memoir. London: Egyptian Exploration Society, 1991. Pp. xiii + 134 + 16 pls. £64.

This handsomely produced work (down to the Roberts print on the cover) is the second in a series. Readers will be astonished by the erudition and the scholarship of the editors, the late and much-lamented Martin Hinds and the distinguished Ottoman historian Victor Ménage. Thrown up by time, chance, and archaeology (the discoveries date within the last thirty years), here is a collection of documents which gives only some indication of what life was like on the upper Nile during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The first volume was published in 1986 (*Arabic Documents from the Ottoman Period from Qasr Ibrim*). This second volume contains some 24 Arabic documents (dating from 1630 to 1759) and 168 Turkish documents, the latter mostly concerning military and administrative matters (dating from 1560 to 1739).

Historians will find this work frustrating, for it is antiquarian in the extreme; general readers will find the scholarship and effort put into this work disproportionate to the results (for instance, the extensive discussion of bureaucratic formulas,

such as *sebeb-i tahrir* on pp. 16–18). Therein lies any reviewer's dilemma, for no one can fault the editors: their philological and textual skills are extraordinary. But the result is disappointing, a random sampling of materials from a far-away place. The editors do not attempt to link systematically what they have studied with what is known or understood about the rest of the Ottoman Empire. In other words, they do not follow through in looking at what was distinctive about the Qasr Ibrim district or at what was typical of it in the Ottoman context. Aside from the general paucity of documents for the centuries considered, one reason for this shortcoming is that specialists hesitate to generalize or to link what they have studied most closely to the wider patterns of what is thought to have characterized the Ottoman experience. If anything, future readers of this work will have to complete that task.

Located on the upper Nile between the First and Second Cataracts, which basically separated Egypt from the rest of Africa, Qasr Ibrim in the Ottoman period was a frontier zone which nonetheless displayed, at least according to these documents, some of the principal features of a typical Ottoman district. Among the military men who served in the local garrison were people from as far away as Hungary and Bosnia. The editors show conclusively that there was a pattern of succession within garrison families, which accords with what is known about Ottoman garrisons in other provincial settings during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The state's inefficiency in paying wages, one symptom of the general Ottoman fiscal crisis of the late sixteenth century onward, created a pattern of indebtedness which propelled garrison members into sideline economic activities (p. 8) and subjected them most intensely to the vicissitudes of local politics and economic relations. However, all of this occurred even as, over time, Ottoman officialdom imposed some uniformity from the provincial capital of Cairo (p. 5), a fascinating confirmation of Halil İnalcık's "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," the process by which indirect means of Ottoman control were gradually replaced by direct means.

This work consists of an extensive introduction, the Arabic and Turkish texts (with translations), a glossary, indexes, genealogical charts, a

concordance, and selected plates. Once again, it must be said that the editors have expended a great deal of effort. Yet because of the arbitrary nature of archaeology, of what survives over time, these documents need to be placed in a wider context than they have been. Students will find much to learn here and specialists too. Yet the wider goal of understanding the Ottoman period remains to be fulfilled.

KARL K. BARBIR

Siena College  
Loudonville, New York

*The Brockman Tablets of the University of Haifa.*

Vol. 1. *Royal Inscriptions*. By RAPHAEL KUTSCHER. Haifa: Haifa University Press, 1989. Pp. 135 + figs. + 7 pls. [distributed outside Israel by Otto Harrassowitz, Taunusstr. 14, D-65019 Wiesbaden].

The group of texts published by Kutscher forms an extraordinarily interesting and important addition to our knowledge of early Babylonian history. We can be thankful for the circumstances which allowed the lamented Raphael Kutscher to make this his last major contribution to Near Eastern studies.

I have the impression that the author is being unusually discreet in writing of the history of the texts (and the others to appear in vol. 2, including an Early Dynastic II inscription on stone). To put the matter bluntly, we have overwhelming evidence here of what has been apparent for many years: Hermann Hilprecht seems to have considered the Nippur finds almost his personal property to be appropriated and distributed as he wished. It is not as though his choices were run-of-the-mill tablets of no particular individual importance. He knew exactly what he was doing in choosing tablets for his personal collection. The most notable example is the famous map of Nippur (and the other unusual texts found with it) that now form part of the Frau Hilprecht Collection in Jena. Happily, this collection ended up in a museum many years ago and is admirably cared for. It may be only a fortunate accident that the tablets published in this volume surfaced and became accessible to

scholars (not without some losses, apparently). What other unique Nippur texts Hilprecht may have alienated will probably never be known, so we cannot know the extent of our loss due to his depredations in what should have been museum collections.

Chap. 1 (BT 1) is an inscription concerning Narām-Sin. It is an Old Babylonian copy (written in Old Akkadian script, except for the subscripts in Old Babylonian script and orthography) containing copies of monumental inscription. The reverse has votive inscriptions which were previously known: the obverse, however, has historical inscriptions strongly resembling the accounts in the later composition known as "The Great Revolt." While the "Great Revolt" text is probably dependent on the BT 1 or a similar older text, there are significant differences. BT-1 lacks the "Schachtelsatz" regarding Sargon, lacks mention of the election of Iphur-Kishi to kingship, and lacks the names of the foreign countries. BT-1, however, specifically names the rulers of northern Babylonian towns. There is nothing in the text of BT-1 to place the revolt in a specific part of Narām-Sin's reign, but it appears to have taken place in the early part of his reign before his apotheosis.

Chap. 2 studies the inscription of Erridu-pizir, a king of the Gutí. The inscription is basically Old Akkadian, but there are examples of Ur III and Old Babylonian sign forms and, in orthography, use of *ri* rather than *ri*. On p. 65, Kutscher points out that this text has the earliest reference in Mesopotamia to horses.

Chap. 3, BT-4, has the texts of inscriptions of Šu-Sin copied in Nippur from the monuments of this king, apparently three statues and two pedestals. One should note additional comments on this composition by B. Lafont, *NABU* 1990/18.

Chap. 4 has a bilingual inscription of the Old Babylonian king Ammiditana, apparently the only original inscription of this ruler so far known. Parts of it, described by Hilprecht, are now lost.

Nippur, especially the Enlil Temple, Ekur, clearly housed a phenomenal number of votive inscriptions of every sort on a great variety of statues, some rather monumental, and probably many stelae as well. Certainly, practically none of these have survived intact, but enough fragments

have been recovered to suggest the richness of the collection in Nippur in ancient times.<sup>1</sup>

Kutscher's textual commentaries are full of new readings and provocative suggestions that cuneiformists will be discussing and debating for years. Kutscher has left us a very significant contribution which will ensure that his name will from now on be associated with the study of the political history of the Akkadian period.

ROBERT D. BIGGS

*The University of Chicago*

<sup>1</sup> An example that comes to mind is two small fragments of the Lipit-Ishtar Law Code. One was found by the University of Pennsylvania expedition and published as PBS 15, no. 47; the second was found by the Oriental Institute and was published as AS 9, no. 49. Fragments (such as a big toe) of large statues likewise turn up in the excavations.

*Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings*. State Archives of Assyria, vol. 8. Edited by HERMANN HUNGER. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992. Pp. xxix + 384 + 25 figs. + 15 pls.

This edition of the astrological reports by Hermann Hunger brings to happy fruition a project begun many years ago by A. Leo Oppenheim and left unfinished at his death twenty years ago. While most of the unpublished texts included were identified by Oppenheim, Hunger nevertheless had to establish his own text and collate every sign on every piece with the originals in the British Museum in London. The previous edition (by R. Campbell Thompson) is nearly a century old. Hunger's edition is, needless to say, a vast improvement. While only one text is published in copy, photographs of a number of the previously unpublished texts are included.

Hunger begins with a very succinct summary of the role of omens in Mesopotamian life and the celestial omens in particular. As expected from the title, the vast majority of the reports are on celestial observations. However, he has included a few based on abnormal births, fortuitous events, and on auspicious days. His discussion of the reports concerning celestial omens summarizes the kinds of information they pro-

vide, the principal one being quotations from the standard series of celestial omens, *Enūma Anu Enlil*. The reports often contain explanations of the omens, both of their protases and their apodotes. Most reports include the name of the sender.

Of the datable reports, only one is from the eighth century B.C. The others are seventh century. Hunger divides the texts into two groups, first reports from Assyria and then those from Babylonia, grouping together the reports sent by individual scholars. His translations are quite readable, though sometimes rather literal. An example is the use of the verb "fall" as in "sick people of the land will fall" in no. 36 or "fall of cattle and wild animals" (no. 147). Some predictions occur very frequently in stereotyped phrases. An example is "the son will speak the truth with his father" (passim), and while the words are perfectly clear, the implications of the phrase are not. While it is obvious what an attack of locusts would be, one cannot say the same for "attack of fish" (no. 535:4). While it is probably obvious to most readers that "Akkad" means Babylonia, in only a couple of cases is this made explicit. A couple of sentences explaining the use of such geographical terms would probably be useful for readers unfamiliar with this genre of texts.

As is well known, eclipses portended great danger. Lunar eclipses could be predicted with considerable accuracy (though not necessarily whether one would be visible from a particular location). Means (the namburbi incantations and rituals) were available for averting the dangers they portended. Apparently solar eclipses were considered especially dangerous. No. 384 gives a long list of unfavorable predictions—some of them quite dire—in the event of a solar eclipse. On p. xix Hunger quotes a letter responding to the king's demand to know whether a solar eclipse would occur or not. The writer explained that solar eclipses are not predictable as the lunar ones are, and so he could not say. No. 461 refers to a ritual for rainmaking. The writer of the report, Bēl-le'i, was an exorcist and therefore familiar with the appropriate rituals and prayers. As one might expect, earthquakes predict shakeups. One text (no. 495) is quite explicit: *ribu ana nabal-katti*, "an earthquake portends revolution."



In only one text can I suggest improved readings. This is no. 459, a very poorly preserved text, previously unpublished, which is the only text copied by Hunger for this volume. The very lengthy quote is in fact the entire first section of "Prophecy Text B."<sup>1</sup> Thanks to Hunger's meticulous copy, and with knowledge of duplicates, one can improve on a number of his tentative readings based on his single, almost illegible, source. Fortunately, this quotation in the report provides several additions and corrections to the text of the "prophecy" as known previously.<sup>2</sup>

This fine edition of the astrological reports to Assyrian kings is a superb addition to the State Archives of Assyria series. I am confident that it will still be in use a hundred years from now.

ROBERT D. BIGGS

*The University of Chicago*

<sup>1</sup> See the editions by Biggs, "More Babylonian 'Prophecies,'" *Iraq* 29 (1967): 117–32 and "Babylonian Prophecies, Astrology, and a New Source for 'Prophecy Text B,'" in F. Rochberg-Halton, ed., *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*, AOS 67 (New Haven, 1987): 1–14.

<sup>2</sup> See Biggs, "'Prophecy Text B' in SAA 8 No. 459," *NABU* 1993/73.

*Ah, Assyria . . . : Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography Presented to Hayim Tadmor*, Scripta Hierosolymitana, vol. 33. Edited by MORDECHAI COGAN and ISRAEL EPH<sup>c</sup>AL. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1991. Pp. 347. \$33.

This volume honoring Hayim Tadmor is a very worthy tribute to a great scholar and much beloved figure in Assyriology. The thirty contributors have made this a rich volume indeed, but space precludes even listing the individual articles. The volume is divided into three sections: Neo-Assyrian History, Literary and Historiographical Studies, and Texts and Textual Studies.

F. M. Fales in "Narrative and Ideological Variations in the Account of Sargon's Eighth Campaign" presents a fascinating analysis of this famous "letter to a god" which goes well

beyond—and in different directions—than A. L. Oppenheim's classic study of this text in this journal.<sup>1</sup>

W. W. Hallo in "The Death of Kings: Traditional Historiography in Contextual Perspective" begins with a brief survey of the death of kings as recounted in the Bible. However, he stresses Sumerian and Akkadian evidence, beginning with the royal cemetery at Ur, but he derives most of his material from omens, mostly relating the "bizarre" cases of royal deaths. Hallo supports the ultimate historicity of the so-called historical omens. He suggests that the examples of rulers being killed with cylinder seals may have been by a sharpened wooden pin on which the cylinder seals would have been mounted. He also suggests that Šulgi served as a heavenly doorkeeper for seven days after his death.<sup>2</sup> On p. 159 Hallo slips and uses the term "stretches credulity" when he surely meant to say "stretches credibility" when referring to another scholar's interpretation of the death of Amar-Sin as "Omen of Amar-Suena the king who [was injured] from the goring of an ox and died from the bite of a shoe." He continues through the centuries to the various traditions about the death of Nabonidus.

Alan Millard studies the phenomenon of large numbers in the Assyrian royal inscriptions and the question of numbers being rounded or odd (in sexagesimal terms), the latter giving an impression of great exactness. A follow-up to this article has appeared in this journal.<sup>3</sup>

Tzvi Abusch, in his paper "The Ritual Tablet and Rubrics of *Maqlû*: Toward the History of the Series," continuing his series of papers begun in this journal in 1974,<sup>4</sup> presents a masterful

<sup>1</sup> "The City of Assur in 714 B.C.," *JNES* 19 (1960): 133–47.

<sup>2</sup> For more recent discussion of this question, see P. Steinkeller, "Išbi-Era's *Himmelfahrt*" *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* 1992/4.

<sup>3</sup> David M. Fouts, "Another Look at Large Numbers in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions," *JNES* 53 (1994): 205–11; and now Marco De Odorico, *The Use of Numbers and Quantifications in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, State Archives of Assyria Studies, vol. 3 (Winona Lake, Indiana, 1995).

<sup>4</sup> "Mesopotamian Anti-witchcraft Literature: Texts and Studies, Part 1: The Nature of *Maqlû*: Its Character, Divisions, and Calendrical Setting," *JNES* 33 (1974): 251–62.

and elegant analysis of the various versions of the ritual tablet and has important observations on the history of the series "Maqlû" ["Burn-ing"] as a whole.

Thorkild Jacobsen in his paper "Abstruse Sumerian" tackles the question of the peculiar Sumerian in the bilingual inscription of Šamaš-šum-ukīn and compares it to the bilingual hymn celebrating the return of the statue of Marduk from Elam under Nebuchadnezzar I. He suggests that scribes may have prided themselves on composing such cryptic pseudo-Sumerian texts as an illustration of their erudition.

W. G. Lambert in "An Unknown King in an Unknown City" publishes a new text from a fragmentary cylinder which apparently dates to the time of Tiglath-Pileser I. It is a tantalizing text. It belongs to the Lands of the Bible Archaeology Foundation and was surely bought on the antiquities market. Other texts from this unidentified site may well turn up to provide more information.<sup>5</sup>

ROBERT D. BIGGS

*The University of Chicago*

<sup>5</sup> Indeed, very similar texts have been excavated at Tell Bdēri in Syria and are now published. (Stefan M. Maul, *Die Inschriften von Tall Bderi*, Berliner Beiträge zum vorderen Orient, Texts, vol. 2 [Berlin, 1992]). The new texts permit confident restoration of the broken part of Lambert's text, which is re-edited by Maul on p. 37-41.

*Marchands d'étoffes du Fayyoun au III<sup>e</sup>/IX<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après leurs archives (actes et lettres)*. Vol. 3. *Lettres des Banū Ṭawr aux Banū ʿAbd al-Muʿmin*. By YŪSUF RĀĠIB. Supplément aux Annales Islamologiques, Cahier no. 14. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1992. Pp. viii + 80 + 44 pls.

This volume edits a further forty-four Arabic papyri relating to the Banū ʿAbd al-Muʿmin, a family of medieval Egyptian merchants. (The first two volumes in the series edited fifty-four other papyrus documents and letters of this family, bringing the total published so far to ninety-eight.) Four of these papyri are held in museums

in Berlin; the remainder are from the Louvre. The letters edited here represent one side of a long-term exchange of letters the Banū ʿAbd al-Muʿmin conducted with one of their commercial partners, the Banu Thawr of Fuṣṭāṭ (the other half of the correspondence is, unfortunately, lost).

As in the earlier volumes, Rāġib has here produced a meticulous reconstruction of the Arabic texts, accompanied by a French translation and a careful analysis of the character and contents of each document. The volume thus constitutes another precious addition to the meager, but slowly growing, corpus of documentary sources for medieval Islamic history. Anyone who has ever attempted the incredibly difficult task of editing Arabic papyri will be aware of the debt of gratitude we owe to Dr. Rāġib for his outstanding work.

FRED M. DONNER

*The University of Chicago*

*Natural Phenomena: Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East*. Edited by D. J. W. MEIJER. Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Verhandelingen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, deel 152. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1992. Pp. viii + 306. 85 guilders [distributed by Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, POB 19121, 1000 GC Amsterdam. The Netherlands].

This volume is made up of papers presented at a symposium in Amsterdam in 1989 honoring Maurits van Loon on the occasion of his formal retirement from the University of Amsterdam. Most of the papers are in English, even though it is the native language of very few of the authors.

The volume begins with a brief introduction "Natural Phenomena and Interpretation" by the editor, Diederik Meijer, followed by the other papers arranged alphabetically by author, beginning with Pierre Amiet's paper on the storm god in the iconography of the cylinder seals from Ugarit, followed by Dominique Collon's paper "The Near Eastern Moon God." She points out the contrast between the ubiquitous representations of the

symbol of the moon god in southern Mesopotamia and the fairly rare depictions of the moon god in anthropomorphic form. She is able to point to a number of representations in northern Mesopotamia and Syria, however, including several quite recent finds. She suggests the possibility that the myth of Sin and the Cow, used as a childbirth incantation, may have led to the relative abundance of representations of the moon god in the first half of the first millennium B.C.

G. van Driel's paper "Weather between the Natural and the Unnatural in First Millennium Cuneiform Inscriptions" is a wide-ranging discussion covering such matters as the role of the weather and climate in the timing of Assyrian military campaigns. He stresses that ecological circumstance in ancient times differed somewhat from what we can observe now.

J. D. Hawkins presents evidence to resolve the iconographic and graphic confusion regarding the logogram used in hieroglyphic Luwian to write the name of the Storm-god. In an appendix, he makes further contributions to reading epigraphs at Yazılıkaya.

Philo Houwink ten Cate gives a very detailed discussion of the Hittite storm god according to the Hittite cuneiform sources, with densely packed footnotes—surely the definitive statement on the subject for some time to come.

W. Orthmann publishes a wall painting (which includes human figures) from Halawa which he tentatively dates to the Early Syrian period (end of Early Dynastic I or beginning of Early Dynastic II in Mesopotamian terminology).

Edith Porada publishes a cylinder seal from a private collection (of unknown provenance) de-

picting a storm god which has striking similarities to one from Nuzi which she published many years ago. She has several proposals for elucidating some of the enigmatic elements in the new seal.

Marten Stol's paper, "The Moon as Seen by the Babylonians" is one of the more intensely philological papers in the volume and displays his vast knowledge of cuneiform sources, including some of the most esoteric scholarly texts. He has a detailed discussion of the terms for the phases of the moon. He suggests that *magurru*, "boat," is the term for the moon when it is between half and full, that is, the gibbous moon. The term *agû*, he believes, refers to the gray part of the moon, that is, the old moon in the arms of the new. His article will repay a close reading for the new insights proposed. An example is reading *bugin*, "trough," rather than *sug*, "cane-brake," in a well known phrase in an inscription of Gudea (the cuneiform sign in question has both readings), based on an explicit reference in a Middle Babylonian boundary stone to the *buginnu* of the moon. Space limitations preclude even mentioning the many facets of the Babylonians' attitude and understanding of the moon which Stol elucidates. Something not touched upon is whether the Babylonians were aware of tides and the effect the moon has on them.

This is a very fine volume and a superb tribute to Maurits van Loon from the pens of some of his outstanding colleagues.

ROBERT D. BIGGS

*The University of Chicago*

---



## BOOKS RECEIVED

- AÇIKGENÇ, ALPARSLAN. *Being and Existence in Şadrâ and Heidegger: A Comparative Ontology*. Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, 1993. Pp. xvii + 193. \$18 [distributed by International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, 205 Jalan Damansara, Damansara Heights, 50480 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia].
- Al-Karmil: *Studies in Arabic Language and Literature*. Vol. 15, 1994. Haifa: The Gustav Heinemann Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, University of Haifa, 1995. Pp. 14 (English) + 221 (Arabic). \$15 (subscription).
- Annales d'histoire et d'archéologie* 6 (1995). Beirut: Université Saint-Joseph, 1995. Pp. iv + 149.
- ARAV, RAMI and FREUND, RICHARD A., eds. *Bethsaida: A City by the North Shore of the Sea of Galilee*. Bethsaida Excavations Project, Reports and Contextual Studies, vol. 1. Kirksville, Missouri: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1995. Pp. xxi + 337 + figs. + pls. + tables. \$30 (cloth), \$15 (paperback).
- ARGALL, RANDAL, A. *I Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment*. SBL, Early Judaism and Its Literature, no. 8. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995. Pp. xiii + 304. \$24.95.
- BARTL, KARIN; BERNBECK, REINHARD; and HEINZ, MARLIES, eds. *Zwischen Euphrat und Indus: Aktuelle Forschungsprobleme in der vorderasiatischen Archäologie*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1995. Pp. x + 407 + 172 figs. DM 94.
- BECK, ASTRID B.; BARTELT, ANDREW H.; RAABE, PAUL R.; and FRANKE, CHRIS A., eds. *Fortunate the Eyes That See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995. Pp. xix + 672 + 23 figs. \$45.
- BECKMAN, GARY. *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*. Edited by HARRY A. HOFFNER, JR. SBL, Writings from the Ancient World, vol. 7. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996. Pp. xx + 206 + 1 map. \$44.95 (cloth), \$29.95 (paperback).
- BEDIER, SHAFIA. *Die Rolle des Gottes Geb in den ägyptischen Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit*. Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge 41. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1995. Pp. xxiv + 210 + hieroglyphic text.
- BENTSSON, PER A. *Two Arabic Versions of the Book of Ruth: Text Edition and Language Studies*. Studia Orientalia Lundensia 6. Lund: Lund University Press, 1995. Pp. xxxiii + 214.
- BLENKINSOPP, JOSEPH. *Sage, Priest, Prophet: Religious and Intellectual Leadership in Ancient Israel*. Library of Ancient Israel. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995. Pp. xi + 191. \$19.
- BODINE, WALTER R., ed. *Discourse Analysis of Biblical Literature: What It Is and What It Offers*. SBL, Semeia Studies. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995. Pp. x + 264. \$29.95.
- BRIANT, PIERRE. *Dans les pas des Dix-Mille: Peuples et pays du Proche-Orient vus par un Grec, Actes de la Table Ronde Internationale, organisée à l'initiative du GRACO Toulouse, 3-4 février 1995*. Pallas: Revue d'études antiques 43. Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1995. Pp. xv + 302. 160 francs.
- BROWN, L. CARL, ed. *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996. Pp. xvi + 337. \$49.50.
- BUDD, PHILIP J. *Leviticus*. The New Century Bible Commentary. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1996. Pp. xxv + 395. \$26.
- CAMPBELL, STUART and GREEN, ANTHONY, eds. *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*. Oxbow Monograph 51. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1995. Pp. x + 297 + 83 figs. \$58.
- CERIĆ, MUSTAFA. *Roots of Synthetic Theology in Islām: A Study of the Theology of Abū Manṣūr al-Māturidī (d. 333/944)*. Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, 1995. Pp. vii + 276. \$18 [distributed by International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, 205 Jalan Damansara, Damansara Heights, 50480 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia].
- CLINES, DAVID J. A., ed. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Vol. 2. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995. Pp. 660. \$100.
- COLLON, DOMINIQUE. *Ancient Near Eastern Art*. London: British Museum Press, 1995. Pp. 247 + 180 figs. £17.99.
- COOK, JOHN G. *The Structure and Persuasive Power of Mark: A Linguistic Approach*. SBL, Semeia Studies. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995. Pp. xvii + 384.
- CROW, LOREN D. *The Songs of Ascents (Psalms 120-134): Their Place in Israelite History and Religion*. SBL, Dissertation Series, no. 148. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996. Pp. xiii + 226. \$29.95 (cloth), \$19.95 (paperback).

- DANIELS, PETER T. and BRIGHT, WILLIAM. *The World's Writing Systems*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. Pp. xlv + 920 + 120 figs.
- DAVIES, BENEDICT G. *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty*. Fascs. 5 and 6 (translated from W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, Heft 20). Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1994 and 1995. Fasc. 5, pp. xx + 103; fasc. 6, pp. xxvi + 129. \$16.50 (each fasc.).
- DAVIS, URI. *Crossing the Border: An Autobiography of an Anti-Zionist Palestinian Jew*. London: Books & Books, 1995. Pp. 398. £16.95.
- DAWSON, WARREN R. and UPHILL, ERIC P. *Who Was Who in Egyptology*. 3d ed. rev. M. L. BIERBRIER. London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1995. Pp. 458.
- DE CONTENSON, HENRI. *Aswad et Ghoraifé: Sites néolithiques en damascène (Syrie) aux IX<sup>ème</sup> millénaires avant l'ère chrétienne*. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, vol. 137. Beirut: Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient, 1995. Pp. 392 + 16 pls. + 207 figs.
- DEKIERE, LUC. *Old Babylonian Real Estate Documents from Sippar in the British Museum*. Vol. 2, pt. 3. *Documents from the Reign of Samsu-Iluna*. Vol. 2, pt. 4. *Post-Samsu-Iluna Documents*. Mesopotamian History and Environment, Series 3, Texts. Ghent: University of Ghent, 1995. Vol. 2, pt. 3, pp. ix + 224; Vol. 2, pt. 4, pp. ix + 152. 1,500. Belgian francs (each pt.).
- DE MONTEBELLO, PHILIPPE, ed. *Textiles of Late Antiquity*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995. Pp. 48 + 51 figs. \$8.95.
- DE ODORICO, MARCO. *Numbers and Quantifications in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*. State Archives of Assyria Studies, vol. 3. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1995. Pp. xxxi + 206. \$37.50.
- DOTAN, ARON and TAL, ABRAHAM, eds. *Studies in Hebrew Language in Memory of Eliezer Rubinstein*. Te'uda, The Chaim Rosenberg School of Jewish Studies Research Series, vol. 9. Tel-Aviv: Tel Aviv University, The Jacob and Shoshanna Schreiber Chair for the History of the Jewish Language, 1995. Pp. 308 (Hebrew).
- EHRET, CHRISTOPHER. *Reconstructing Proto-Afroasiatic (Proto-Afrasian) Vowels, Tone, Consonants, and Vocabulary*. University of California Publications in Linguistics, vol. 126. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and New York: University of California Press, 1995. Pp. xvii + 557. \$62.
- ENDO, YOSHINOBU. *The Verbal System of Classical Hebrew in the Joseph Story: An Approach from Discourse Analysis*. Studia Semitica Neerlandica, no. 32. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1996. Pp. xiii + 351. 79.50 guilders.
- ESHEL, I. and PRAG, K., eds. *Excavations by K. M. Kenyon in Jerusalem 1961–1967*. Vol. 4. *The Iron Age Cave Deposits on the South-east Hill and Isolated Burials and Cemeteries Elsewhere*. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology, no. 6. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Pp. ix + 278 + 132 figs. \$65.
- FALES, F. M. and POSTGATE, J. N. *Imperial Administrative Records, Part II: Provincial and Military Administration*. State Archives of Assyria, vol. 11. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1995. Pp. xlii + 211 + 79 figs.
- FAROQHI, SURAIYA. *Kultur und Alltag im osmanischen Reich vom Mittelalter bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1995. Pp. 402 + 18 figs. DM 58.
- FEUCHT, ERIKA. *Das Kind im Alten Ägypten: Die Stellung des Kindes in Familie und Gesellschaft nach altägyptischen Texten und Darstellungen*. Frankfurt and New York: Campus Verlag, 1996. Pp. 610 + 50 figs. DM 98.
- FILER, JOYCE. *Disease*. Egyptian Bookshelf. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996. Pp. 116 + 76 figs. \$18.95.
- FINKELSTEIN, ISRAEL. *Living on the Fringe: The Archaeology and History of the Negev, Sinai and Neighbouring Regions in the Bronze and Iron Ages*. Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 6. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995. Pp. xiii + 197 + 60 figs. \$60.
- Folk-Tales from Iraq*. London: Books & Books, 1995. Pp. 205. £14.95.
- FOSTER, JOHN L., trans. *Hymns, Prayers, and Songs: An Anthology of Ancient Egyptian Lyric Poetry*. Edited by Susan Tower Hollis. SBL, Writings from the Ancient World Series, vol. 8. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996. Pp. xviii + 211.
- GELLER, MARKHAM J. and MAEHLER, HERWIG, eds. *Legal Documents of the Hellenistic World: Papers from a Seminar Arranged by the Institute of Jewish Studies and the Warburg Institute, University of London, February to May 1986*. London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1995. Pp. xiv + 254. £30.
- GELLER, M. J.; GREENFIELD, J. C.; and WEITZMAN, M. P., eds. *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches. Papers Delivered at the London Conference of the Institute of Jewish Studies, University College, London, 26th–28th June 1991*. Journal of Semitic Studies, Supplement 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Pp. viii + 262 + 21 figs. \$65.
- GERAMI, SHAHIN. *Women and Fundamentalism: Islam and Christianity*. Women's History and Culture, vol. 6. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1996. Pp. xiii + 178. \$29.
- GRILLMEIER, ALOYS and HAINTHALER, THERESIA. *From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory*

- the Great (590–604). Pt. 2. *The Church of Constantinople in the Sixth Century*. Translated by JOHN CAWTE and PAULINE ALLEN. Christ in Christian Tradition, vol. 2. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995. Pp. xx + 565. \$50.
- HILLERS, DELBERT R. and CUSSINI, ELEONORA. *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*. Publications of the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. Pp. xvii + 458. \$65.
- ISAGER, SIGNE and SKYDSGAARD, JENS ERIK. *Ancient Greek Agriculture: An Introduction*. 1992. London and New York: Routledge, 1995. Pp. x + 234. \$18.95 (paperback).
- ISSAWI, CHARLES. *The Middle East Economy: Decline and Recovery, Selected Essays by Charles Issawi*. Princeton Series on the Middle East. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1995. Pp. viii + 239. \$16.95.
- JAYYUSI, SALMA KHADRA and ALLEN, ROGER, eds. *Modern Arabic Drama: An Anthology*. Indiana Series on Arabic and Islamic Studies. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995. Pp. xii + 416. \$24.95.
- JOBES, KAREN H. *The Alpha-Text of Esther: Its Character and Relationship to the Masoretic Text*. SBL, Dissertation Series, no. 153. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996. Pp. xv + 256 + additions and appendixes. \$44.95 (cloth), \$29.95 (paperback).
- JONES, BARRY ALAN. *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Study in Text and Canon*. SBL, Dissertation Series, no. 149. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995. Pp. xii + 266. \$24.95.
- KATAJA, L. and WHITING, R. *Grants, Decrees and Gifts of the Neo-Assyrian Period*. State Archives of Assyria, vol. 12. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1995. Pp. xlv + 174.
- KHAN, MAJEED. *The Origin and Evolution of Ancient Arabian Scripts*. Riyadh: Ministry of Education, 1993. Pp. 52 + 22 pls.
- KISSLING, H. J.; BAGLEY, F. R. C.; BARBOUR, N.; TRIMMINGHAM, J. S.; BRAUN, H.; SPULER, B.; and HÄRTEL, H. *The Last Great Muslim Empires: History of the Muslim World*. 1969. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1996. Pp. xvi + 303. \$18.95.
- KITCHEN, K. A. *Ramesseid Inscriptions Translated and Annotated*. Vol. 2. *Rameses II, Royal Inscriptions*. Oxford and Cambridge, Mass., 1996. Pp. xxvii + 618. \$150.
- KOROTAYEV, ANDREY. *Ancient Yemen: Some General Trends of Evolution of the Sabaic Language and Sabaean Culture*. Journal of Semitic Studies, Supplement 5. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Pp. xii + 130. \$55.
- KRÖGER, JENS. *Nishapur: Glass of the Early Islamic Period*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995. Pp. xii + 256 + 316 figs. \$75.
- KUAN JEFFREY KAH-JIN. *Neo-Assyrian Historical Inscriptions and Syria-Palestine: Israelite/Judean-Tyrian-Damascene Political and Commercial Relations in the Ninth–Eighth Centuries BCE*. Jian Dao Dissertation Series 1, Bible and Literature 1. Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 1995. Pp. xxiii + 281.
- KUGLER, ROBERT A. *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi*. SBL, Early Judaism and Its Literature, no. 9. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996. Pp. ix + 255. \$32.95 (cloth), \$21.95 (paperback).
- LANDY, FRANCIS. *Hosea*. Readings: A New Bible Commentary. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996. Pp. 192. \$50.
- LILYQUIST, CHRISTINE. *Egyptian Stone Vessels: Khian through Tuthmosis IV*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995. Pp. iv + 123 + 163 figs. \$25.
- LOPRIENO, ANTONIO. *Ancient Egyptian: A Linguistic Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Pp. xv + 322. \$59.95 (cloth), \$19.95 (paperback).
- MAGUIRE, HENRY, ed. *Byzantine Magic*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Library and Collection, 1995. Pp. vii + 187 + 20 figs. \$30 [distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.].
- MALUL, MEIR, ed. *Mutual Influences of Peoples and Cultures in the Ancient Near East*. Michmanim 9. Haifa: Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum, University of Haifa, 1996. Pp. xii + 178.
- MANDER, P. and DURAND, J. M. *Mitología y Religión del Oriente Antiguo II/1: Semitas Occidentales (Ebla, Mari)*. Colección: Estudios Orientales 8. Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 1995. Pp. 576.
- MCGOVERN, PATRICK E.; FLEMING, STUART J.; and KATZ, SOLOMON H., eds. *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*. Food and Nutrition in History and Anthropology, vol. 11. Amsterdam: OPA (Overseas Publishers Association under License by Gordon and Breach Science Publishers), 1995. Pp. xv + 409. \$85.
- MELLADO, ESTHER PONS. *Terracotas egipcias de época greco-romana del Museo del Oriente Bíblico del Monasterio de Montserrat*. AULA Orientalis-Supplementa 9. Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 1995. Pp. 115 + 24 pls. 2,500 pts.
- MELMAN, BILLIE. *Women's Orient: English Women and the Middle East, 1718–1918: Sexuality, Religion and Work*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995. Pp. xxix + 417. \$39.50 (cloth), \$16.95 (paperback).
- MORROW, WILLIAM S. *Scribing the Center: Organization and Redaction in Deuteronomy 14:1–17:13*. SBL, Monograph Series, no. 49. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995. Pp. xi + 271. \$33.95.
- NIGRO, LORENZO. *Ricerche sull'architettura palaziale della Palestina nelle Età del Bronzo e del Ferro:*



- Contesto archeologico e sviluppo storico. Contributi e Materiali di Archeologia Orientale* 5 (1994). Rome: Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza," 1995. Pp. xi + 493 + 63 pls. 90,000 lire.
- NUNN, JOHN E. *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1996. Pp. 240 + figs. \$39.95.
- PEARSON, MICHAEL N. *Pilgrimage to Mecca: The Indian Experience 1500–1800*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1996. Pp. x + 272. \$16.95.
- PETERS, F. E. *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985 and 1995. Pp. xiv + 656 + 68 figs. and 5 maps. \$19.95.
- PEARSON, RUDOLPH. *Jihad in Classical and Modern Islam: A Reader*. Princeton Series on the Middle East. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1996. Pp. ix + 204. \$16.95.
- POLIAKOFF, MICHAEL A. *Competition, Violence, and Culture: Combat Sports in the Ancient World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987. Pp. xviii + 202 + 97 figs. \$15.
- ROY, OLIVER. *Afghanistan: From Holy War to Civil War*. The Inaugural Leon Poullada Memorial Lecture Series, Afghanistan: The Failure of Revolutionary Islam. Princeton University Press, 1995. Pp. 142 + 7 pls. \$24.95.
- SAGGS, H. W. F. *Babylonians. Peoples of the Past*. London: British Museum Press, 1995. Pp. 192 + 92 figs. £17.99.
- SASSON, JACK M., ed. *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. Vols. 1–4, Pts. 1–11. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995. Pp. 2,699 + 620 figs. \$449.
- SCHALOSKE, MICHAEL. *Antike Technologie—Die sabäische Wasserwirtschaft von Märib, Teil 3: Untersuchungen der sabäischen Bewässerungsanlagen in Märib*. Archäologische Berichte aus dem Yemen, Band 7. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1995. Pp. ix + 177 + 20 pls. + 66 figs. DM 145.
- SHAW, IAN and NICHOLSON, PAUL, eds. *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum Press, 1995. Pp. 328 + 400 figs. £27.50.
- SIMPSON, WILLIAM KELLY. *Inscribed Material from the Pennsylvania-Yale Excavations at Abydos*. Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt, no. 6. New Haven: Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1995. Pp. x + 110 + 171 figs. + 31 pls. \$75.
- SMITH, WILLIAM ROBERTSON. *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites, Second, and Third Series*. Edited by JOHN DAY. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 183. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995. Pp. 149. \$40.
- STEWART, HARRY M. *Egyptian Shabtis*. Shire Egyptology 23. Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications, 1995. Pp. 64 + 52 figs. £39.95.
- STÖRK, LOTHAR. *Koptische Handschriften 2: Die Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Teil 2: Die Handschriften aus Dair Anbā Maqār*. Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band 21/2. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995. Pp. 696. DM and Swiss francs 480.
- Studia Arabistyczne i Islamistyczne* 3 (1995). Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 1995. Pp. 128.
- SWEENEY, MARVIN A. *Isaiah 1–39 with an Introduction to Prophetic Literature*. The Forms of the Old Testament Literature, vol. 16. Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge, England: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1996. Pp. xix + 547. \$45.
- TAYLOR, JOHN A. *Unwrapping a Mummy: The Life, Death and Embalming of Horemknesi*. Egyptian Bookshelf. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996. Pp. 116 + 74 figs. \$18.95.
- TREISTER, MICHAEL YU. *The Role of Metals in Ancient Greek History*. Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava. Leiden, New York, and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1996. Pp. xiv + 481 + 50 figs. 234 guilders.
- VAN DEN HOUT, THEO P. J. and DE ROOS, JOHAN, eds. *Studio Historiae Ardens: Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1995. Pp. xxvii + 35 pls. 120 guilders.
- VIGUERA MOLINS, MARÍA JESÚS. *El Islam en Aragón*. Colección "Mariano de Pano y Ruata" 9. Aragón: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, 1995. Pp. 174 + 182 figs.
- WILKINSON, T. J. and TUCKER, D. J. *Settlement Development in the North Jazira, Iraq: A Study of the Archaeological Landscape*. Iraq Archaeological Reports 3. Baghdad: British School of Archaeology in Iraq and Department of Antiquities and Heritage, 1995. Pp. xv + 250 + 87 figs. [distributed by Aris & Phillips, Teddington House, Warminster, Wilt., England]. \$75.
- WILSON, IAN. *Out of the Midst of the Fire: Divine Presence in Deuteronomy*. SBL, Dissertation Series, no. 151. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995. Pp. xiv + 257. \$19.95.
- WILSON, PETER W. and GRAHAM, DOUGLAS F. *Saudi Arabia: The Coming Storm*. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 1994. Pp. xi + 289. \$21.95.

**CENTER FOR JUDAIC STUDIES**  
University of Pennsylvania  
Post Doctoral Fellowships 1997-98  
Application Deadline November 30, 1996

**TEXT, ARTIFACT AND IMAGE:  
REVEALING ANCIENT ISRAELITE RELIGION**

The CJS program for 1997-98 will be devoted to integrating disciplines and methodologies in the study of Ancient Israelite Religion. The program will attempt to bring together a diverse community of scholars in biblical philology, archaeology and art history. Furthermore, since ancient Israel existed within a broader ancient Near Eastern cultural context, the participation of those who study Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Canaanite, Hurrian and Hittite cultures, with interest in religious traditions, is deemed essential.

The Center invites applications on projects examining the methodological principles of the various disciplines relating to the study of biblical and ancient Near Eastern religions. Issues to be explored may include: What basic assumptions are made in attempting to understand a culture's religion by studying its mythology, iconography, temple architecture or burial practices? What are the limitations of each approach, based upon the nature of the source materials for each discipline within each culture? What insights are gained by scholars, sharing the same disciplinary approach, when applied cross-culturally? How can one determine commonality and uniqueness in the religious traditions of each of the ancient Near Eastern cultures?

Outstanding graduate students in the final stages of writing their dissertations may also apply. Stipend amounts are based on a Fellow's academic standing and financial need with a maximum of \$30,000 for the academic year. A contribution may also be made towards travel expenses. Awards will be announced on January 30, 1997.

For application material and further information, write to:

Secretary, Fellowship Program  
Center for Judaic Studies  
420 Walnut Street Philadelphia, PA 19106  
telephone: 215-238-1290  
fax: 215-238-1540 email: allenshe@mail.cjs.upenn.edu



## WRITINGS FROM THE ANCIENT WORLD

### Hymns, Prayers, and Songs An Anthology of Ancient Egyptian Lyric Poetry

John L. Foster

This is the first comprehensive anthology in English of ancient Egyptian lyric poetry. Translated from the original Egyptian, the collection emphasizes the value of the ancient poems as literature. The translations retain an accurate sense of the original language and the poems are set in the proper, "thought couplet" style characteristic of Egyptian verse. Hymns, prayers and songs pertaining to religion, the pharaohs, death, and love, among other topics, are included. This unique anthology will be of interest to students and scholars alike, in areas as diverse as Egyptian literature and religion, Near Eastern history, and world literature in translation.

Code: 06 15 08

Cloth: \$49.95 0-7885-0157-7

Paper: \$29.95 0-7885-0158-5

### Hittite Diplomatic Texts

Gary Beckman

This work presents full translations of more than 50 documents from the files of the "foreign office" of the Hittite Empire: 20 treaties, 17 diplomatic letters, and 17 royal edicts and miscellaneous records concerning the relations of the Hittites with their Anatolian and Syrian vassals, as well as with other great powers such as Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia. Originally composed in Hittite or in the Akkadian *lingua franca* of the day, many of these texts have never before appeared in English. A short introduction places each document in its historical and cultural context, and a general essay acquaints the reader with the diplomatic practice of the Late Bronze Age. This collection of documents will be a major source book for historians of the Ancient Near East and for students of cuneiform and Biblical law. It will also prove useful for those investigating the relationship between Biblical covenant theology and its possible antecedents in older Near Eastern treaty patterns.

Code: 06 15 07

Cloth: \$44.95 0-7885-0153-4

Paper: \$29.95 0-7885-0154-2

### Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor

Martha T. Roth

The law collections presented in this volume are compilations, varying in legal and literary sophistication, recorded by scribes in the schools and the royal centers of ancient Mesopotamia and Asia Minor from the end of the third millennium through the middle of the first millennium B.C.E. Sumnerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Hittite texts, with accompanying English translations, are included. Some of the collections, like the famous Laws of Hammurabi, achieved a wide audience; others, like the Laws about Rented Oxen, were scribal exercises limited to a local school center. All, however, reflected contemporary legal practice in the scribes' recordings of contracts, administrative documents, and court cases and also provide historians with evidence of abstractions of legal rules from specific cases. In addition to the texts and translations, the volume includes a list of sources, bibliography, glossary, and numerous indexes.

Code: 06 15 06

Cloth: \$59.95 0-7885-0104-6

Paper: \$39.95 0-7885-0126-7



SBL

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE

WRITINGS FROM THE ANCIENT WORLD

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE MEMBERS  
RECEIVE A 33% DISCOUNT  
ON DIRECT ORDERS.

Scholars Press

P.O. Box 6996, Alpharetta, GA 30239-6996

Phone: 800-437-6692, Fax: 770-442-9742

Additional charge for postage/handling



# WRITINGS FROM THE ANCIENT WORLD

## Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt

*William J. Murnane*

In the middle of the fourteenth century B.C.E., Egypt's polytheistic religion was suddenly attacked by its most traditional upholder, the pharaoh. The short-lived revolution which followed continues to be as disturbing and enigmatic as the "heretic king" Akhenaten who set it in motion. Was Akhenaten the first monotheist, as he is widely reputed to be? Or was he an opportunist, possibly even an atheist, who cloaked a political revolution in religious terms? Modern readers will now find it easier to address such questions by using this wide-ranging collection of documents, many of them never before translated into English, in which the full sweep of one of ancient history's most fascinating periods lives anew.

Code: 06 15 05  
Cloth: \$49.95 1-55540-965-2  
Paper: \$34.95 1-55540-966-0

## Ancient Aramaic and Hebrew Letters

*James M. Lindenberger*

This book presents an up-to-date translation of seventy letters, virtually the complete corpus of surviving letters in Aramaic and Hebrew down to the time of Alexander.

Code: 06 15 04  
Cloth: \$44.95 1-55540-839-7  
Paper: \$29.95 1-55540-840-0

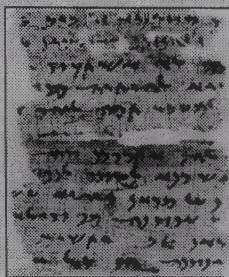
## Letters from Early Mesopotamia

*Piotr Michalowski, translator*

*Erica Reiner, editor*

This volume provides a selection of letters from ancient Western Asia up to the time of the First Dynasty of Isin; they are the earliest epistolary writings known to us from any part of the globe.

Code: 06 15 03  
Cloth: \$29.95 1-55540-819-2  
Paper: \$19.95 1-55540-820-6



Coll. BNU Strasbourg P. Aram 2  
Photo by J. Lindenberger

## Hittite Myths

*Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., translator*

*Gary M. Beckman, editor*

This is the first complete collection of Hittite myths translated into the English language, based upon a careful reading of the original tablets.

Code: 06 15 02  
Cloth: \$29.95 1-55540-481-2  
Paper: \$19.95 1-55540-482-0

## Letters from Ancient Egypt

*Edward F. Wente, translator*

*Edmund S. Meltzer, editor*

This book provides translations of most of the letters that have survived reasonably intact from the Old Kingdom through the twenty-first dynasty of ancient Egypt.

Code: 06 15 01  
Cloth: \$25.95 1-55540-472-3  
Paper: \$16.95 1-55540-473-1

*SBL*

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE

WRITINGS FROM THE ANCIENT WORLD

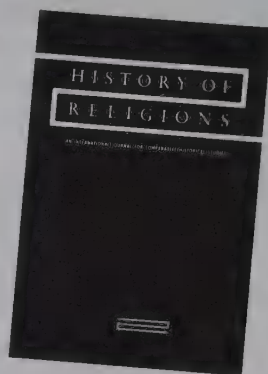
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE MEMBERS  
RECEIVE A 33% DISCOUNT  
ON DIRECT ORDERS.

**Scholars Press**

P.O. Box 6996, Alpharetta, GA 30239-6996  
Phone: 800-437-6692, Fax: 770-442-9742  
Additional charge for postage/handling

# *History of Religions*

An International Journal for  
Comparative Historical Studies



In the past three decades since its founding, *History of Religions* has been one of the primary organs for the development of the field's theories and methods. Its interdisciplinary scope offers readers added insights on religious phenomena both within particular historical-cultural traditions and across cultural boundaries. Each issue displays solid, wide-ranging scholarship, with original articles, review essays, and book reviews exploring

cosmology and sacred space  
myth and symbolic language  
religious thought

ritual and religious practice  
religious change and history  
comparative studies

This year *History of Religions* will publish **two** special issues: **Image and Ritual in Buddhism** (February, 1995) with contributions from Bruce Owens, Matthew Kapstein, Donald K. Swearer, and Todd Gibson; and **Images of Rulership, Icons of Change** (May, 1995) with contributions from Mark MacWilliams, Laurie L. Patton, and Kay A. Read.

Past special issues include **Sikh Studies** (1992) with contributions from Nikky-Guninder Kaur Singh, W. H. McLeod, Harjot Oberoi, and Verne A. Dusenberry; and **The Body** (1990) with contributions from Caroline Walder Bynum, A. Kevin Reinhart, Gedaliahu G. Stroumsa, and Lawrence Sullivan.

## **Founding Editors**

Mircea Eliade, Joseph M. Kitagawa, and Charles H. Long

## **Editors**

Frank E. Reynolds, Wendy Doniger, Gary L. Ebersole, and  
Bruce Lincoln

## **Editorial Advisors**

Charles H. Long and Lawrence E. Sullivan

Published quarterly by  
**The University of Chicago Press**

**Regular one-year subscription rates:** \$70.00 Institutions; \$32.00 Individuals; \$22.00 UC Divinity School Alumni; \$22.00 Students (with copy of ID). Outside USA add \$5.00 for postage. Visa and MasterCard payments accepted. To order send check, purchase order, or complete charge card information to The University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, Dept. SS5SA, P.O. Box 37005, Chicago IL 60637.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS



CLASSICAL  
PHILOLOGY

*A Journal Devoted to Research in Classical Antiquity*

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

# CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

## SERVING THE NEEDS OF CLASSICISTS FOR NINETY YEARS

Since 1906, *Classical Philology* has been an internationally respected journal devoted to research in the languages, literatures, history, life, and thought of classical antiquity. *Classical Philology* will keep you informed about current debates and points of discussion among classicists, making you part of a lively forum. In addition to major articles, you'll find substantial book reviews in each issue to help you identify works valuable for your research and coursework. *Classical Philology* publishes the best current research on classical antiquity, applying a variety of interpretive approaches to cover a broad range of topics in essays you'll read again and again for years to come.

Edited by Elizabeth Asmis  
Published quarterly by The University of  
Chicago Press

**Regular one-year subscription rates:** Individuals  
\$39.00; Students \$26.00; Institutions \$95.00.  
Outside the USA, add \$5.00 postage.  
Canadians, please add 7% GST plus postage.

---

*Visa and MasterCard accepted.*

*To subscribe, send check, purchase order, or complete credit card information to*

**The University of Chicago Press**  
**Journals Division, Dept. SS6SA, P.O. Box 37005, Chicago, IL 60637**

2/96



Since 1882

# *The Journal of Religion*

A vigorous and authoritative forum  
for critical religious studies

THE  
JOURNAL  
OF  
RELIGION

*The Journal of Religion* promotes critical and systematic inquiry into the meaning and import of religion. Articles investigate all aspects of theology and provide insights on other areas of religious scholarship, including ethics and values, biblical interpretation, hermeneutics, and the philosophy, sociology, and history of religion.

Serving as a forum for an international community of scholars, the *Journal* has published significant work by such respected authors as

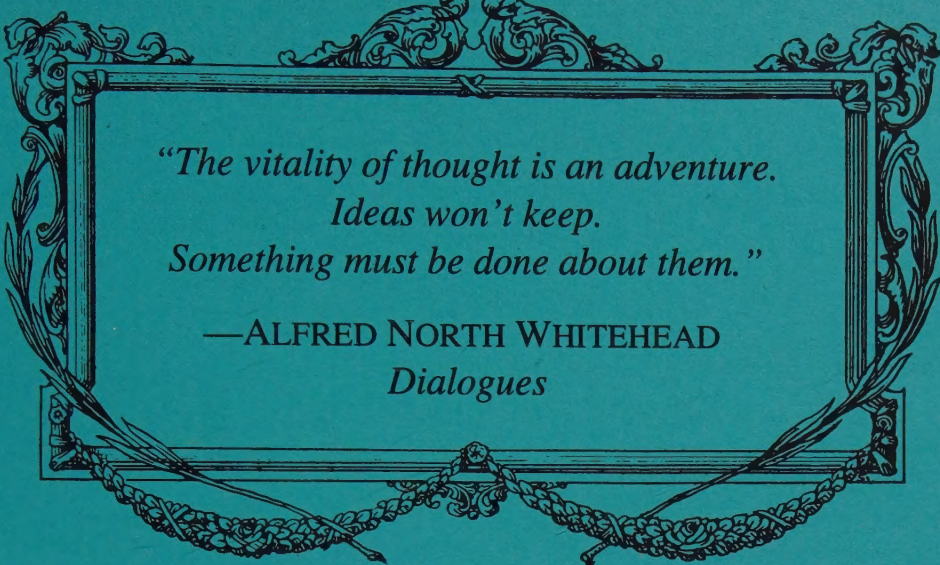
Thomas J. J. Altizer  
Karl-Otto Apel  
Richard Bernstein  
Jean Comaroff  
Wendy Doniger  
Geoffrey Hartman

Wolfgang Pannenberg  
Paul Ricoeur  
Rosemary Radford Ruether  
Jeffrey Stout  
David Tracy  
Claude Welch

**Jean Bethke Elshtain, Franklin I. Gamwell, and Bernard McGinn**  
*Editors*

*Published quarterly by The University of Chicago Press*

Regular one-year subscription rates: \$60.00 Institutions; \$27.00 Individuals; \$20.00 UC Divinity School Alumni; \$20.00 Students (with copy of valid ID). Canadians, please include 7% GST. Single copies: \$15.00 Institutions; \$6.75 Individuals. Visa and MasterCard accepted. To order, please send check, purchase order, or complete charge card information to The University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, Dept. SF6SA, P.O. Box 37005, Chicago, IL 60637.

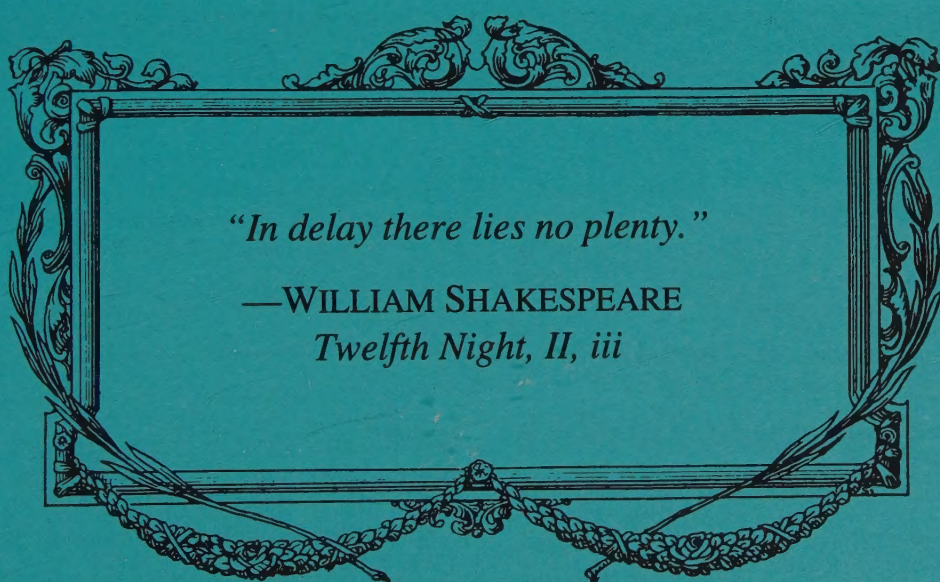


*"The vitality of thought is an adventure.  
Ideas won't keep.  
Something must be done about them."*

—ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD  
*Dialogues*

Enter your new subscription to  
***Journal of Near Eastern Studies***  
and save 15%, using the reply form on reverse.

---



*"In delay there lies no plenty."*

—WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE  
*Twelfth Night, II, iii*

Enter your new subscription to  
***Journal of Near Eastern Studies***  
and save 15%, using the reply form on reverse.



# Journal of Near Eastern Studies

Enter a new subscription and save 15%!

	New	Renewal
<input type="checkbox"/> Individuals	<input type="checkbox"/> \$33.15 (J)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$39.00
<input type="checkbox"/> Institutions	<input type="checkbox"/> 77.35 (J)	<input type="checkbox"/> 91.00
<input type="checkbox"/> Students (with copy of valid ID)	<input type="checkbox"/> 21.25 (J)	<input type="checkbox"/> 25.00

**Outside USA:** please add \$5 for postage.

**Canadians:** please add 7% GST.

☐ **Back issues:** remaining issues (vols. 48-53)  
at 50% off:

☐ \$123.65 Individuals    ☐ \$273.15 Institutions

**Outside USA:** please add 75¢ per issue for postage.

**Canadians:** please add 7% GST.

## Payment Options

*Orders must include payment in U.S. dollars.  
Fax credit card orders to (312) 753-0811.*

☐ **Charge**    ☐ **MasterCard**    ☐ **Visa**

Expiration date \_\_\_\_\_

Account no. \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Phone number \_\_\_\_\_

☐ **Check** enclosed (in U.S. dollars drawn from  
a U.S. bank, payable to the journal)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip/Country \_\_\_\_\_

Please send your order to **The University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, P.O. Box 37005,  
Chicago, IL 60637 USA.** IS6XX

# Journal of Near Eastern Studies

Enter a new subscription and save 15%!

	New	Renewal
<input type="checkbox"/> Individuals	<input type="checkbox"/> \$33.15 (J)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$39.00
<input type="checkbox"/> Institutions	<input type="checkbox"/> 77.35 (J)	<input type="checkbox"/> 91.00
<input type="checkbox"/> Students (with copy of valid ID)	<input type="checkbox"/> 21.25 (J)	<input type="checkbox"/> 25.00

**Outside USA:** please add \$5 for postage.

**Canadians:** please add 7% GST.

☐ **Back issues:** remaining issues (vols. 48-53)  
at 50% off:

☐ \$123.65 Individuals    ☐ \$273.15 Institutions

**Outside USA:** please add 75¢ per issue for postage.

**Canadians:** please add 7% GST.

## Payment Options

*Orders must include payment in U.S. dollars.  
Fax credit card orders to (312) 753-0811.*

☐ **Charge**    ☐ **MasterCard**    ☐ **Visa**

Expiration date \_\_\_\_\_

Account no. \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Phone number \_\_\_\_\_

☐ **Check** enclosed (in U.S. dollars drawn from  
a U.S. bank, payable to the journal)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip/Country \_\_\_\_\_

Please send your order to **The University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, P.O. Box 37005,  
Chicago, IL 60637 USA.** IS6XX



# ISAIAH 1-39

with an  
INTRODUCTION  
TO PROPHETIC  
LITERATURE

Marvin A. Sweeney

Volume XVI

THE FORMS  
OF THE  
OLD TESTAMENT  
LITERATURE

ISAIAH  
1-39

with an  
INTRODUCTION  
TO PROPHETIC  
LITERATURE

Marvin A. Sweeney

VOLUME XVI

THE FORMS OF THE  
OLD TESTAMENT  
LITERATURE



"Marvin Sweeney's learned monograph will shortly become a standard reference work for all future researchers of Isaiah 1-39. He offers exhaustive bibliographies, lucid background material for the current scholarly agenda, and a detailed structural analysis of each individual unit. . . . Useful material for the continuing interpretive enterprise."

— BREVARD S. CHILDS

"Sweeney's book marks a major milestone in Isaiah studies. The close examinations of the forms of the prophecies of Isaiah 1-39 and the role that this primary collection has played in the structure and formation of the book of Isaiah as a whole are splendidly shown. . . . This volume must surely become an indispensable starting point for the serious student, and I warmly recommend it."

— RONALD E. CLEMENTS

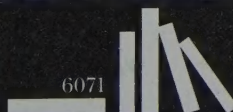
"Sweeney stands in the forefront of modern research on the book of Isaiah. This valuable commentary, which includes a comprehensive bibliographical survey of previous work as well as many stimulating new insights, is an indispensable resource to which scholars will want to return time and again in their continuing engagement with this central book of the Hebrew Bible."

— H. G. M. WILLIAMSON

ISBN 0-8028-4100-7 • 566 pages • Paperback • \$45.00

At your bookstore, or call 800-253-7521 • FAX 616-459-6540

6071



WM. B. EERDMANS PUBLISHING Co.  
255 JEFFERSON AVE. S.E. / GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN 49503





## EISENBRAUNS NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

### The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century

The William Foxwell Albright Centennial Conference

Edited by Jerrold S. Cooper and Glenn M. Schwartz

These sixteen essays, from a select group of scholars, were presented at the 1991 Johns Hopkins University conference held to commemorate the centennial of the birth of William Foxwell Albright. The presenters and the topics were carefully chosen and came together, not merely to celebrate Albright and his work but rather, in the spirit of the man himself, to seek to chart the course of ancient Near Eastern studies in the century to come.

1996. Pp. 432. \$39.50

### An Akkadian Handbook

Paradigms, Helps, Logograms, and Sign Lists

Douglas B. Miller and R. Mark Shipp

Students of Akkadian will find this handy, brief summary of basic information to be the ideal companion during the first years of study. Though this handbook is not a replacement for the standard reference works, it summarizes all of the basic resource materials needed for study of Akkadian.

1996. Pp. 174. Paper. \$14.95

**Write or call for information on volumes of similar interest**

Eisenbrauns • POB 275 • Winona Lake Indiana, 46590  
Phone: (219) 269-2011 • Fax: (219) 269-6788



0022-2968(199607)55:3;1-7